



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-91-123
Wednesday
26 June 1991

Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-91-123

CONTENTS

26 June 1991

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

CENTRAL AFRICA

Cameroon

Life Normal Despite 'Operation Dead Country' [Yaounde Radio]	1
BBC Reports on Situation [London International]	1
Bamenda Commercial Sector 'Grounded' [Yaounde Radio]	1

Central African Republic

'Operation Dead Cities' Supported in Bangui [Libreville Radio]	1
--	---

Congo

Sassou-Nguesso on PCT, Upcoming Elections [Libreville Radio]	2
New Party Makes Debut, Outlines Goals [Brazzaville Radio]	2
Political Police Dissolved After Conference [Libreville Radio]	2

Equatorial Guinea

Opposition Merges, Demands Multiparty System [Libreville Radio]	2
---	---

Zaire

Japanese Aid for Bas-Zaire Project Reviewed [ELIMA 12 Apr]	3
--	---

EAST AFRICA

Djibouti

Ethiopian Interim Government Team Ends Visit [Djibouti Radio]	4
---	---

Ethiopia

Interim Government Statement on WPE Members [Addis Ababa Radio]	4
Mesfin Briefs Diplomats on Transition Conference [Addis Ababa Radio]	5
Official Meets Former Dergue Regime Soldiers [Addis Ababa Radio]	5
Unified Organization Leader Urges National Accord [London AL-SHARQ AL-AW SAT 18 Jun]	5
Dire Dawa Airport Resumes Regular Services [Addis Ababa Radio]	6

Kenya

Stand on RSA Olympics Participation Clarified [Nairobi TV]	6
* Resignations Deplete NDP Leadership Potential [THE WEEKLY REVIEW 7 Jun]	7

Tanzania

Premier Cautions Against CCM 'Conspiracies' [Dar es Salaam Radio]	8
---	---

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Natal ANC Regions Nominate Mandela as President [Umtata Radio]	9
Pretoria Region Announces Nominations [SAPA]	9
Pik Botha, Terreblanche on 'Afrikaner' State [Johannesburg Radio]	9
Working Groups Formed for Ending Violence [Johannesburg Radio]	9
Group To Be Watchdog Over Security Forces [NEW NATION 21-27 Jun]	9
Sources Claim ANC Triangular Power Struggle [THE CITIZEN 21 Jun]	10
ILANGA on Activities of ANC Military Wing [20-22 Jun]	10
ANC's Kasrils Discusses Operation Vula [Johannesburg TV]	11
ANC Guerrilla Training Reportedly Upgraded [CITY PRESS 23 Jun]	12
Inkatha Claims Membership of 100,000 Whites [THE STAR 25 Jun]	14
Union Urges Nationalization Without Compensation [SAPA]	14
PAC Youth Faction Opts for Marx, Lenin, Mao [SAPA]	14
SAAF, Neighboring States' Air Forces Compared [BUSINESS DAY 24 Jun]	14
Talks With International Arms Manufacturers Noted [BUSINESS DAY 25 Jun]	15
Chinese Government Pledges Assistance to PAC [THE STAR 25 Jun]	15
Buthlezi Returns From U.S., UK Visit [SAPA]	16
25 Jun Press Review on Current Issues, Problems [THE CITIZEN, etc.]	16
26 Jun Press Review [THE STAR, etc.]	17
* HNP Criticizes Koos Van Der Merwe Document [DIE AFRIKANER 24 Apr]	18
* Controversy Surrounds Cost of Mossgas Project [WEEKEND ARGUS 25 May]	19

SOUTHERN AFRICA

Angola

Van Dunem Reportedly To Be Appointed Premier [Johannesburg THE STAR 25 Jun]	20
UNITA: Lobito Harbor Strike 'Legitimate' [Voice of the Black Cockerel]	20
Unavem: UNITA Mavinga Headquarters Not Open [Luanda Radio]	21
New Party Coordinator Explains Platform [Luanda Radio]	21
* UNITA Chief of Staff on Peace Accord [JORNAL DE ANGOLA 26 May]	21
* Situation in Luena Under Attack Described [JORNAL DE ANGOLA 19 May]	26
* Minister Notes Huila Rural Development Plans [JORNAL DE ANGOLA 12 May]	27
* Luanda Interurban Transportation Improving [JORNAL DE ANGOLA 11 May]	29
* Lack of Electricity Paralyzes Sumbe City [JORNAL DE ANGOLA 10 May]	30
* Lunda-Norte Trade Network Not Functioning [JORNAL DE ANGOLA 10 May]	31

Madagascar

Opposition Agrees To Suspend Action 26 Jun [Antananarivo Radio]	31
---	----

Mozambique

Chissano Hosts National Day Reception in Maputo [Maputo Radio]	31
Alleged Coup Leaders at Celebration [London International]	32
Reference to Portuguese Peace Talks Role Denied [Maputo Radio]	32
First Train on Limpopo Railroad Arrives in Maputo [Maputo Radio]	32
* Students Expelled From Cuba Get Certificates [NOTICIAS 21 May]	32

Namibia

President Nujoma Opens Conference on Land Reform [SAPA]	33
* Cuban Instructors To Train Development Brigade [TIMES OF NAMIBIA 18 Apr]	33
* Commitment to Democracy, Market Economy Noted [FINANCIAL MAIL 3 May]	34
* Fishing Limits Create Friction With EC [Johannesburg CITY PRESS 28 Apr]	36

Zimbabwe

Tekere Discusses 'Split' Within ZUM Party [London International]	37
* Paper Comments on Future of Socialism [THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE 18 Mar]	38
* ZANU Report Urges 'Democratic Socialism' [THE WEEKEND GAZETTE 19 Apr]	39

WEST AFRICA

The Gambia

Finance Minister Presents 1991-92 Budget [AFP]	40
--	----

Ghana

Security Committee Imposes Dusk to Dawn Curfew [Accra Radio]	40
--	----

Ivory Coast

President Receives Zairian Premier, Message [Abidjan Radio]	40
Minister Reports on Requisition Order Compliance [Abidjan Radio]	40

Liberia

Taylor Agrees To Recognize Interim Government [Monrovia Radio]	40
--	----

Mali

Former Traore 'Close Aides' Arrested 25 June [PANA]	41
Prime Minister Sako Departs for Belgium [PANA]	41

Nigeria

Ministry 'To Ensure' Obasanjo Election to UN [PANA]	41
Group Says Students Tortured, Threatens Strike [AFP]	41
Contingent in Sierra Leone Not Part of ECOMOG [AFP]	41
Union of Journalists Launces New Magazine [Lagos Radio]	42

Togo

Nigerian Foreign Minister Meets Eyadema, Comments [Lome Radio]	42
Commission Communique on Conference Participants [Lome Radio]	42
Police Service Transferred to Interior Ministry [Lome Radio]	43
Police, Fire Fighters Continue To Strike [PANA]	43

Cameroon

Life Normal Despite 'Operation Dead Country'

AB2506161291 Yaounde CRTV Radio Network
in French 1900 GMT 24 Jun 91

[Text] Activities in Yaounde are proceeding normally despite the blockade of Yaounde and the Operation Dead Country campaign launched by the Coordination of Opposition Parties. In Bamenda, however, the Tabaski holiday was followed by a halt of commercial activities despite the meeting between Governor John Ebongole and officials of the various parties represented in Bamenda. With the exception of the Social Democratic Front, the parties have dissociated themselves from Operation Dead Cities.

BBC Reports on Situation

AB2506171091 London BBC World Service in English
1515 GMT 25 Jun 91

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] In Cameroon, Operation Dead Country is clearly beginning to bite. It got under way yesterday and was called by a large part of the opposition to further force President Paul Biya to accede to their demand for a national conference to discuss the country's political future. Because yesterday was a national holiday, it was impossible to gauge the effectiveness of the stay away, but today there can be no doubt, as Bow Herbert reports in this telex from Yaounde:

[Begin studio announcer recording] Most towns in Cameroon are reported to be paralyzed on this second day of Operation Dead Country. Even the capital, Yaounde, which was relatively unaffected by the last stay-at-home, had a number of shops and private businesses closed in downtown areas this morning. But it is in the areas outside Yaounde, in the south and east, that the operation had its biggest following. Reports say shops, markets, banks, and bars are completely shut in Bamenda in the northwest, Limbe in the southwest, Bafoussam in the west, and that apart from the heavy presence of paramilitary troops, the country's economic capital and port town, Douala, is a dead city. Today no taxis and no private cars are circulating. The town's major road to Yaounde is closed to all traffic.

In various neighborhoods, hundreds of predominantly young people are manning road barricades in blind defiance of the heavy military presence in order to force other civilians into respecting the operation. Water canon vehicles, armored personnel cars, and even tanks are driving in long columns up and down the streets. Helicopters hover overhead. Incidents of violent confrontation between security forces and civilians have already been reported and a number of arrests have been made. A military truck has been burned by an angry mob in one neighborhood. Two journalists, a photographer and the driver from the private weekly LE MESSAGER,

were dragged out of their vehicle and beaten by security forces who held guns against their foreheads as they lay on the ground, threatening to open fire. One of the journalists sustained a head wound. He told me later on telephone that their release was ordered by a plainclothes officer. [end recording]

Bamenda Commercial Sector 'Grounded'

AB2506212591 Yaounde CRTV Radio Network
in English 1800 GMT 25 Jun 91

[Text] The third civil disobedience call by the National Coordination of Opposition Parties has begun in some parts of the country. Reports from correspondents say the call has gone into effect in Douala, Bamenda, Kumbo, Bafoussam, Bouya, Limbe, and Kumba.

In Bamenda, the commercial sector was grounded this morning although government workers went to their offices either on foot or in private vehicles. Meanwhile in Yaounde, the civil disobedience has been relatively disregarded. Activities continued normally in the administrative and commercial sectors, with the usual bustle and heavy traffic in the streets. Stores in the central market were almost completely closed, but hawkers went about their business on side streets. Buses belonging to public intra-urban transporters have also remained grounded in the nation's capital. Elsewhere, like in the northern part of the country, life is said to be normal.

Central African Republic

'Operation Dead Cities' Supported in Bangui

AB2606080091 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French
1230 GMT 24 Jun 91

[Text] Since this morning Bangui has been nearly paralyzed. The same situation may continue tomorrow, the second day of Operation Dead Cities, which was launched by the private and parastatals sector of the trade union organization in support of their demand for salary increases. For the Central African Republic [CAR] bishops, the continuation of this tussle between the government and the trade unions is becoming so alarming that they published a letter calling for consultations among all the parties concerned on the crisis facing the country. Here is a report from Bangui filed by our correspondent Alla George Ngatoua:

[Begin Ngatoua recording] For the second time this month, a 48-hour Operation Dead Cities has been launched in Bangui—this time, at the initiative of workers of the private sector who organized a peaceful march on 22 June to call for negotiations on the revision of salaries. The employers association has said that it will resume negotiations if work resumes. At any rate, there is a deadlock.

The operation has given the opportunity to some agitators to demonstrate, but they were rapidly dispersed by the security forces with tear gas. The operation was supported, but not like it was on 17 June because there were many people in the market buying foodstuffs. Most shops and public places have closed their doors.

Meanwhile, a pastoral letter has been circulating within the Catholic community. In it, the Catholic church has reviewed the ills in CAR society like the constant fall in workers' purchasing power, salary arrears, and profound injustices. The document, which was signed by the CAR bishops, admits that it is illusory to try to solve the crisis by challenging the authorities. It notes, however, that the current political system can neither satisfy the aspirations of the people nor address the prevailing urgent problems. According to the bishops, because of the complex nature of the state machinery and the lack of representation, the present institutions, namely the sole ruling party and the Parliament, are no longer sufficient. There is a need to appeal in a broader context to the entire population and organize a national consultation whose form must be approved and which must regroup representatives of all the existing social classes and groups. [end recording]

Congo

Sassou-Nguesso on PCT, Upcoming Elections

AB2606125991 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French
1830 GMT 22 Jun 91

[Interview with Congolese President Denis Sassou-Nguesso by Africa No. 1 reporter Jean de Dieu Ndong Ovono in Brazzaville; date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Sassou-Nguesso] The Congolese Labor Party [PCT], as all the parties, must organize itself to contest the various elections because it will not be easy. (?Frankly speaking), the PCT is truly a national party which has stood the test of time. The best things are those which have stood the test of time. [passage omitted]

The PCT is a national party established throughout the country, and I believe that after the national conference, PCT activists realize that they belong to a great party. Certainly, they will now mobilize themselves to face the upcoming elections.

[Ovono] [Words indistinct] I wonder whether it is worth asking you if you will continue to chair the PCT Central Committee or be above the parties?

[Sassou-Nguesso] No, I will defend the PCT since it is my party. I can never say that it is not my party, but if for some state reasons the president of the Republic is to be above all parties, I would have to act accordingly, without necessarily rejecting the PCT. [passage omitted]

New Party Makes Debut, Outlines Goals

AB2606125591 Brazzaville Voix de la Revolution
Congolaise Network in French 1830 GMT 23 Jun 91

[Text] A political party made its debut this afternoon. Dr. Auguste Mayanza's Labor Party's goal is to fight against waste, unemployment, and greed. It also intends to reactivate the national economy through a regional approach and through enhancing national revenue to create a sound basis for rapid industrialization. Jean-Claude Bakala asked Dr. Mayanza how he plans to achieve rapid industrialization.

[Begin recording] [Mayanza] For many years we have evolved the idea of developing Congo along the line of [words indistinct] land utilization. We will set up cement factories to generate resources and initiate low-cost housing programs to improve housing standards. We will also tap other resources, especially those under the sea which I believe are abundant.

[Bakala] Do you believe such rapid industrialization would be enough to develop Congo?

[Mayanza] Yes. If we set up an industrial network which, in five years, generates sufficient funds to pay our current debts, we can successfully come to grips with our present development problems. We simply need [words indistinct] and minimum funding to achieve the aforementioned objectives. [end recording]

Political Police Dissolved After Conference

AB2506170091 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French
0730 GMT 25 Jun 91

[Text] In Congo, this may be the end of an era. In accordance with national conference resolutions, the former institutions of the Sassou-Nguesso regime are beginning to fall apart. The political police, which was called the State Security and led by officials close to President Sassou-Nguesso, was dissolved yesterday.

Equatorial Guinea

Opposition Merges, Demands Multiparty System

AB2606090491 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French
1830 GMT 24 Jun 91

[Text] The Equatorial Guinean opposition in exile is organizing itself. The opposition movements based in Libreville, Gabon, have decided to unite around one principle—adopting a multiparty system in their country. The movements are: the Social Democratic Union, the Democratic Social Union, and the People's Alliance. The leader of the People's Alliance, Santos Pascual Bikomo, explains to Justin Etougui the reasons behind the merger of these three parties:

[Begin Bikomo recording] The aim of this merger is to respond to our people's appeals for an opposition union.

The aim of this union is the immediate and unconditional installation of a multiparty system in Equatorial Guinea. If the president refuses to permit this as he has always done—and you know he is the last person to agree to the principle of political liberalization in central Africa which brings shame to this region—then our next objective will be to ask him to resign calmly. [end recording]

Zaire

Japanese Aid for Bas-Zaire Project Reviewed

91AF1126B Kinshasa ELIMA in French
12 Apr 91 p 3

[Article by Zuy Kalola: "Project To Tap Underground Water in Bas-Zaire, An Example of Dynamic, Active Cooperation"]

[Excerpts] Since 1973, the governments of Japan and Zaire have maintained a fruitful relationship of cooperation in numerous and diversified sectors. Through nonrepayable loans and many gifts, Japan is assisting Zaire in development fields in general and in providing drinking water to the rural masses in particular.

One sign of dynamic, active cooperation is that Japanese assistance to the Zairian Government has increased steadily since the 1984 fiscal year. By the end of 1989, it had risen from 1,300 million yen [Y] to Y5,787 million, and this financing has been used especially for the purchase of equipment and various hardware, fertilizer, pesticides, and farm machinery, etc. For the 1990 fiscal year, assistance (loans and gifts) totaled Y7,500 million.

As well as in scientific and sports equipment, cooperation between Zaire and Japan has been more active in agriculture and rural development. In this specific area, activities have focused essentially on increasing food production and providing drinking water to urban and rural populations alike. Several projects have been devised along these lines, including in particular the ones in east Kinshasa and in Boma with the Regideso [Water and Power Distribution Administration] and the project to tap underground water in the Bas-Zaire region. The latter has been completed, and official delivery of the second phase took place Monday, 25 March, at Kinazo-Mvute.

Carried out in two phases, the project cost on the order of Y1.059 billion and provides drinking water for an estimated population of more or less 76,000 people.

On this occasion, His Excellency Mr. Teruo Hayarawa and Mr. Onyembe Pene Mbutu, the Japanese ambassador to Zaire and the minister of agriculture, rural organization, and community development, respectively, gave speeches in which they stressed the advantageous aspects of the dynamic, ever active cooperation between the two countries.

These two speeches are reproduced in full below. [passage omitted]

During this period, in order to ensure the well-being of the people whether in urban or in rural areas, the Government of the Republic of Zaire submitted requests for financial assistance for nine projects involving the construction of water distribution plants and the exploitation of underground water in the Bas-Zaire region and the city of Kinshasa.

Aware of the importance of water for human life and bearing in mind the friendly, cooperative relations that have always existed between our two countries, the Japanese Government decided to respond favorably to these requests by granting nonrepayable financing in the amount of Y5.724 billion, or \$40.886 million. Of these allocations, Y1.059 billion, or \$7.564 million, have been devoted to the project to exploit underground water, the second phase of which comes to a close today.

It will be remembered that the first phase received Y512 million, the equivalent of \$3.657 million, and consisted of laying the foundations for the project, supplying equipment and materials, drilling 20 wells, and supplying automobile cartage and a machine shop. The second phase obtained financing in the amount of Y547 million, or \$3.907 million, which allowed the supply and delivery of equipment and materials and the construction of 120 wells. Cooperation between Zaire and Japan on this project has distinguished itself in technology transfer. Eleven technicians—hydrologists, master drillers, and mechanics—were trained in the field. A station manager received training in Japan in the areas of geophysics and electric prospecting. All of these technicians have achieved the necessary autonomy and can perform all the work involved in exploiting the underground water with the equipment placed at their disposal, which means that they will be able to take over after their Japanese counterparts have left.

Henceforth people will no longer have to travel long distances to find water. They now have it at their doorstep. Social and sanitary conditions will thus be improved. This is a victory for the Zairian people, one participated in by the Japanese people, who feel close bonds with them despite the geographic distance that separates our two countries.

Djibouti**Ethiopian Interim Government Team Ends Visit**

*EA2506100091 Djibouti Radio Djibouti in Somali
1700 GMT 20 Jun 91*

[Text] A delegation of the Ethiopian interim government led by Adisu Legese, a member of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front executive committee, left the country today at the end of a five-day visit. The delegation, which arrived in Djibouti last Sunday 16 June, held talks with officials of the Republic of Djibouti on the strengthening of relations between the two countries and on regional issues. The delegation was received yesterday by Alhaji Hassan Gouled Aptidon, the president of the Republic of Djibouti, during which Adisu Legese, the head of the delegation, delivered a message to him from Meles Zenawi, president of the Ethiopian interim government.

Ethiopia**Interim Government Statement on WPE Members**

*EA2506185891 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia
Network in Amharic 1700 GMT 23 Jun 91*

[Statement issued by the interim government in Addis Ababa on 23 June]

[Excerpts] Peace and stability are the outcome of the bitter struggle that was waged by the combatants, but this peace and stability have not earned the approval of the anti-people and anti-peace groups. The current beginnings of peace and stability in Ethiopia are the outcome of the bitter struggle waged by the Ethiopian people. The Ethiopian people's struggle for peace, stability, democracy, development, and prosperity was hindered and crushed by the main enemy of the Ethiopian people, the Dergue or the Workers' Party of Ethiopia [WPE] government, as is clear to everybody.

It is also an open secret to all that even though the Dergue government has been defeated, it is continuing to fight, even though an amnesty has been offered to it. These anti-people and anti-peace forces, even during their final collapse, waged a struggle that has inflicted terrible and heavy damage which is difficult to assess. [passage omitted]

Hence, the interim government of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front is forced to take the following actions against the WPE and its puppets:

A) Regarding the WPE and members of the former security forces:

- 1) All WPE and security force members who have managed to get onto the committees for peace and stability which have been formed throughout the neighborhoods will be expelled.

- 2) All WPE and security force members who managed to arm themselves in the armed forces of the peace and stability committees will be expelled.

- 3) They will not have the right to participate in the meetings organized by the people to bring peace and stability, nor will they have the right to vote or run for office.

- 4) All WPE and security force members who were armed by the government and those who claim they were given or bought the weapons themselves and who claim that they have a weapons certificate must hand in all the weapons in their possession to the committees of peace and stability.

- 5) They will also report to their neighborhoods every Sunday that they have not been involved in anti-people and anti-peace activities.

The interim government strongly warns the WPE and security force members to fulfill these directives fully as of today. It will take stern action against any person who defies this directive.

B) Regarding the Revolutionary Guards and heads of the various public organizations in the former government:

- 1) All who managed to get on the committees of peace and stability will be dismissed.

- 2) Those who are armed, in the Armed Forces of the committees of peace and stability, will be dismissed.

- 3) Although they will be given the right to participate in the meetings organized by the people and will have the right to make suggestions, they will not have the right to vote and run for office.

C) To all members of the WPE, security force members, Revolutionary Guards, and heads of various public organizations:

- 1) The documents you received by virtue of the positions you held after being elected to the committees of peace and stability and the Armed Forces of the committees must be handed over intact to the committees of peace and stability, and the handover must be completed by 24 June.

- 2) Those of you who came from various administrative areas to Addis Ababa must comply with this directive in the areas where you are living.

D) To the committees of peace and stability: As of today:

- 1) After expelling the forces which are being dismissed from the committees of peace and stability, you must call an urgent meeting of the remaining honest compatriot members of the committees, even without a quorum, and elect the organizing chairman and secretary and continue with the committee's work by forming various subcommittees according to the regulations of the committee.

- 2) According to this directive, after immediately expelling the forces which are armed within these committees, the remaining honest patriots must continue with the work and arm others.
- 3) According to this statement, a meeting to replace the members expelled from the committees of peace and stability and the peace forces to complete the numbers of the committees and the peace forces will be organized on 30 June for the participation of peaceful people without the participation of [words indistinct].

Mesfin Briefs Diplomats on Transition Conference

EA2506194991 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia
Network in Amharic 1700 GMT 20 Jun 91

[ENA report]

[Text] Various political organizations, groups, and prominent individuals will participate in the transition conference, which will be held in Addis Ababa, and international organizations and representatives of various governments will take part as observers. Acting Foreign Minister Seyoum Mesfin said this while he briefed European ambassadors in his office on the situation in the country since the interim Ethiopian government was established and the government's future plans were revealed.

In this briefing, the acting minister stated that the recent OAU summit held in the Nigerian capital of Abuja had set up a mediation committee headed by the Nigerian president comprising the leaders of Kenya, Djibouti, and Somalia [as heard] and affirmed that the committee has been accepted by the interim Ethiopian Government. He went on to say that in its desire for peace and stability in our country, the Ethiopian Government has contacted the OAU secretary general and its Secretariat to ask the organization to play a prominent role in the national conference.

Concerning the decision passed by the European Parliament on 6 June regarding Ethiopia, the Ethiopian Government's view is that it does not take into consideration the objective realities following the establishment of the Government of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front since it states that the EC and other opposition forces were not invited to the London conference and also goes into other matters as well. The minister explained that the government will clarify its stand on this matter in the near future.

In the briefing given to the European ambassadors and diplomats, it was said that Ethiopia has a deep desire to establish strong relations with European countries and that the current cultural and scientific relations and various other projects that have been established to help Ethiopia can be a bridge for future relations.

It was also stated that security preparations have been made for the participants in the transition conference that has been proposed for 1 July and that the government will give the necessary guarantees. It was stated in addition that it is expected that a parliament will be formed after the conference is over to see to the implementation of various activities to be carried out by the transitional government.

The ambassadors and diplomats asked various questions after the minister's briefing, to which the minister gave prompt replies.

Official Meets Former Dergue Regime Soldiers

EA2506210091 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia
Network in Amharic 0400 GMT 24 Jun 91

[Text] A representative of the interim government has given briefings to the tens of thousands of former members of the Ethiopian Second Revolutionary Army in Eritrea who fled to Sudan to avoid the war. The deposed Dergue government, which used to press-gang hundreds of thousands of Ethiopians from various places into the war it carried out in Eritrea, organized these soldiers and based them in Eritrea as the Second Revolutionary Army. The oppressed people of Eritrea, however, in the bitter struggle they carried out for a long time against the brutal rule, weakened the forces that were protecting the oppressive system and were able to create the situation that resulted in the complete destruction of the Dergue rule last month. Tens of thousands of the Dergue soldiers who escaped death and captivity fled to Sudan. They are in [words indistinct] of the two places which were prepared for them temporarily.

The interim Government of Ethiopia condemns the Dergue government policy of war which dragged the sons of the oppressed people of Ethiopia away from the places where they could work and live in peace. The interim government is now making efforts to get the necessary assistance to our patriots soon. In this respect, a representative of the interim government went to the two places and held open, amicable talks with the soldiers who fled to Sudan on the current situation in our country and the policy of the interim government to rehabilitate the former soldiers. They expressed their satisfaction with the briefings given by the representative of the interim government. Efforts will be made for them to return to their country to join their family and friends. The current assistance of food, shelter, and medical care will continue until that time.

Unified Organization Leader Urges National Accord

PM2106073091 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT
in Arabic 18 Jun 91 p 3

[Hani Naqshabandi report: "Unified Eritrean Organization Leader Tells AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT: Establishment of National Unity Is Condition For Referendum's Success"]

[Excerpt] Jeddah, AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT—The Eritrean Liberation Front-Unified Organization has warned against missing the opportunity to organize Eritrea's conditions in the people's referendum under the umbrella of international legitimacy, especially in view of the absence of Eritrean national unity.

'Umar al-Burj, the organization's leader, said: If unity is not established among the Eritrean people's sons now and before the referendum is conducted, Eritrea may miss its third opportunity to organize its conditions. The first was in 1948, and the second was in 1978, when the Ethiopian Army was almost besieged in Eritrea, which had been completely liberated, apart from Asmara.

In his statement to AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT Al-Burj said that it was the absence of national unity on these two occasions that prevented independence.

Al-Burj emphasized that the Unified Organization, which comprises four groups, is working earnestly to achieve Eritrean national accord with a view to reaching a unified Eritrean position on Eritrea's future.

Al-Burj denied that the victory achieved recently in the province belongs to one Eritrean group to the exclusion of another. He said that it is the fruit of a long struggle that has continued since the forties and demanded that all groups without exception participate in determining Eritrea's future.

Regarding the organization's view of Eritrea's future, al-Burj said: That should be decided by a comprehensive conference on national reconciliation comprising all the groups whereby the formation of an interim government would be agreed—a conference that would draw up a constitution for the country, endorse the principle of political pluralism, and lay down the general foundations for holding elections through a people's referendum under UN supervision and in the presence of an international observer as represented by the OAU and the Arab League. Some of the neighboring states concerned should be allowed to attend the conference.

He said that there is no need to set back the set date of the referendum by two or three years, as requested by some organizations.

The Unified Organization's leader cited the need to empty Eritrea province of the Ethiopian evacuees placed in the various Eritrean towns by their successive Ethiopian governments with the aim of changing the province's demography. He emphasized the need for the Eritreans whose conditions forced them to leave the country to participate in the referendum on self-determination, even while they are abroad if it is difficult for them to return.

Meanwhile, Al-Burj urged the United States to shoulder its historic responsibilities and to raise the issue with the UN Security Council in order to provide an international legal umbrella, on the grounds that the United Nations is responsible for what happened in Eritrea

through its endorsement of federalism in accordance with its Resolution 390 adopted in 1950. He also called on the United States not to repeat the mistakes of the past 40 years and to emphasize the Eritrean people's right to self-determination.

Regarding future relations with Ethiopia, al-Burj said that the Eritrean people understand Ethiopians' interests and needs, and the two countries can coexist through the best of good-neighborly relations. [passage omitted]

Dire Dawa Airport Resumes Regular Services

EA2506095291 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia
in English 1530 GMT 20 Jun 91

[Text] The Dire Dawa International Airport today began regular services after the disruption of its work for the past 24 days. Announcing this, Ato [Mr.] Kena Maychew, general manager of the Dire Dawa air transport administration of the air transportation authority, said that the normal services of the airport had been disrupted when its facilities were looted by anti-peace forces and thugs just before the arrival of the EPDRF [Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front] forces at that important eastern town, Dire Dawa.

Ato Kena said that the vital air communication systems, airport fire brigade, [words indistinct] administrative facilities were either looted or destroyed by anti-people elements and heavy damage has also been caused to other properties, including aircraft. Properties belonging to the Ethiopian airlines, the customs office, the maritime transport authority, the post office, the civil aviation, international airlines, and individuals were either stolen or destroyed, according to Ato Kena.

Ato Kena said the airport's normal functions has been resumed as the result of the speedy and coordinated action jointly taken by the air transport authority and representatives of the EPDRF's provisional government.

Kenya

Stand on RSA Olympics Participation Clarified

EA2506182591 Nairobi KTN Television in English
1800 GMT 22 Jun 91

[Text] The minister for culture and social services, James Njiru, today sent out an assurance to the international community that Kenyan sportsmen and women would honor all rules laid out by major sporting bodies on sporting links with South Africa. Njiru said today that it had become necessary for him to clarify Kenya's stand on sporting links with South Africa following the international reaction to Kenya's intention to review these links. Njiru said Kenya's sporting fraternity would abide by regulations set out by the international amateur athletics federation and the International Olympic Committee [IOC]. He said both institutions have set out

conditions to be met by South African sporting associations before they are invited back to the world community. The IOC is meanwhile scheduled to visit South Africa to find out whether these conditions, including the merging of all racial organizations to one body representing all South Africans, have been met.

Njiru said the world and the media were excited about the fact that South Africa may participate in the next Olympic games had highlighted any small moves toward this end. The minister's statement comes in the wake of Kenya's decision to allow South Africa athletes to compete in local competitions.

* Resignations Deplete NDP Leadership Potential

91AF1181A Nairobi THE WEEKLY REVIEW
in English 7 Jun 91 pp 10-11

[Text] The resignation last week of three officials of the proposed opposition National Democratic Party (NDP) deals a severe blow to a nascent movement that would have a plethora of hurdles to clear before it could become a reality, major among them the fact that Kenya's constitution allows only one political party, Kanu [Kenya African National Union]. NDP, headed by a former national vice-president, Mr Oginga Odinga, is challenging in court the registrar-general's decision to deny it registration, but it looks as though it would be hard-pressed to project itself as a serious alternative to the ruling party. The quitting of Messrs Michael Lobuin Nene (assistant organising secretary), Ramadhan Mwangumo (interim treasurer) and Richard Muchiri, who described himself as the interim vice-chairman, leaves a depleted team holding the fort.

Odinga, the interim chairman, is the only nationally recognisable figure at the "party headquarters," where he is assisted by interim secretary-general Mr Salim Ndamwe, assistant secretary-general Mr Jonah Ochieng Ougo, and organising secretary Mr Samuel Kariuki Munyiri. If only to create the impression that it is alive and breathing, NDP urgently needs to fill the vacant posts, especially that of treasurer, since Mwangumo was operating without an assistant. This could be an indication that there were not enough people available or willing to fill all the eight posts on the executive committee. There is also a mystery over the vice-chairmanship. Muchiri did not appear in the original line-up announced at the party's launching in February, when the vice-chairmanship was said to be held by Mr Francis Maina. But neither Maina nor Munyiri has ever publicly proclaimed his role in the NDP; the defectors last week stated that they had never seen either of them, and neither name appeared in the suit the NDP filed against the registrar-general.

Apart from replacing the defecting officials, Odinga also has the task of finding politically credible figures to work with. His line-up of also-rans gives no impression that the party would succeed even if it were legalised; no

vocal multi-party campaigner, no radical lawyer, clergyman or other anti-establishment figure, has shown any interest in the NDP at all.

Statements made by the defectors last week gave an apt illustration of how the NDP ended up with nondescript figures in its leadership. The three said they had joined up only because they had been lured by promises of ministerial posts. Such posts would only have been available, of course, once the NDP had been legally registered, had won over the national electorate and had formed a government. The three disillusioned party officials now want to re-join Kanu, where a number of party officials have indicated that they would be welcomed with open arms, claiming that, in any case, they had not yet quit the ruling party. If the three did actually join the NDP out of opportunism, rather than because of ideological conviction, it says a great deal about them. Ndamwe, one of the most active NDP officials, used a similar argument in a different direction last week, when he claimed that Mwangumo, a former Mombasa civic leader and Kanu official, had succumbed, together with Muchiri and Nene, to offers of material reward from Kanu if they left the NDP; he added that the NDP was well rid of them, for they had mistaken the NDP for a "mercantile enterprise."

Addressing a press conference at Odinga's Agip House offices in Nairobi, Ndamwe claimed that the NDP had already received a number of inquiries from people wishing to take up the vacant posts, but the needle test will be whether any of them is a credible figure. The three NDP defectors claimed to have discovered that the party was supported by rich citizens aided by rich and powerful nations to foment trouble in Kenya, and that the current strife in neighbouring Ethiopia, Somalia and Sudan had opened their eyes to the dangers of political pluralism. They also claimed to have realised that the NDP had only 15 Kikuyu supporters in a membership of about a thousand—apparently attempting to depict Odinga's party as a largely Luo affair. Such perceptions could only serve to hurt Odinga's standing. As leader of the ill-fated opposition Kenya People's Union between 1966 and 1969, he only managed to garner support in Luoland, when he galvanised widespread opposition there to the then Kikuyu-dominated government of Mzee Jomo Kenyatta. Odinga's move into opposition after being edged out of the national vice-presidency marked the final break between Kikuyu and Luo.

There has since been a realisation that the only major challenge to the present government might come from a resurrection of old alliances. When the multi-party debate was at its peak about a year ago, Odinga seemed on the verge of linking up with the two major pluralism advocates, former cabinet ministers Mr Kenneth Matiba and Mr Charles Rubia. But the two were detained, together with Odinga's son, Raila, before any move could be announced. Rubia has since been released on medical grounds, but it is noteworthy that even before he left the country for treatment in Britain three weeks ago, he never gave any indication that he intended to join

Odinga's party. Such a development would, of course, have been a major coup for Odinga.

Meanwhile, the NDP awaits for hearing of its suit against the registrar-general's decision to deny it registration. Only last week, the High Court threw out another suit filed by recently-released (from remand) lawyer and publisher Mr Gitobu Imanyara, who had sought the right to belong to a political party of his choice.

Tanzania

Premier Cautions Against CCM 'Conspiracies'

*EA2506202591 Dar es Salaam Radio Tanzania
Network in Swahili 1700 GMT 24 Jun 91*

[Text] Dar es Salaam—The prime minister and first vice president, Comrade John Malecela, has warned against the habit of turning the meetings about change into forums for abuses and conspiracies against the Revolutionary Party [CCM] and its leaders.

Presenting a bill for his office's budget in parliament for the year 1991-1992 this evening, Comrade Malecela warned all those involved in the acts, saying they are politically bankrupt. Comrade Malecela said that abusing and criticizing, without valid reasons, the founders of our political parties like President Nyerere

and the late Abeid Aman Karume [Zanzibar's first president] will incur the anger of Tanzanians, because, he said, if CCM members or others start responding to the abuses, there will be violence. He called on Tanzanians to differentiate between those who want a genuine democracy and people who are tired of living in peace.

On South Africa, Comrade Malecela stressed that Tanzania supports the continuation of economic sanctions against the Boer regime until the main pillars of apartheid and all its associates are dismantled in writing and in deeds. He called on the supporters of nationalist groups that are fighting each other to stop the violence and cooperate and forge unity against the apartheid regime.

The prime minister and first vice president asked parliament to approve a total of 299,548,000 shillings for development projects for his office and 2.081 billion shillings for regular expenditures. Comrade Malecela also asked Parliament to approve a total of 400,400,000 shillings for development and regular expenditures for the Office of the Speaker. For the Jurisdiction Department, he asked for 1,437,615,000 for development and regular expenditure, while for the Law Department, he asked for 213,220,500 shillings for developmental and current expenses. He asked for 14,519,200 shillings for regular expenses for the commission in charge of regulating the law.

Natal ANC Regions Nominate Mandela as President

*MB2506145491 Umtata Capital Radio in English
1400 GMT 25 Jun 91*

[Text] The ANC's [African National Congress] Southern and Midlands Regions of Natal have nominated Nelson Mandela for the presidency of the organization. They have also put forward Harry Gwala for deputy president. The nominations were unanimous, but the two regions differ on their nominations for other posts.

The Midlands want Cyril Ramaphosa as secretary general, with the Reverend Arnold Stofile as treasurer general. A Southern Natal Region source says Jacob Zuma has been nominated a secretary general, with Ramaphosa as his deputy. For treasurer general this region wants (Mandie Ntlameng), and the Northern Natal Region is refusing to disclose its nominations.

Pretoria Region Announces Nominations

*MB2606062091 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2030 GMT 25 Jun 91*

[Text] Johannesburg June 25 SAPA—The names of the five top national executive members nominated by the African National Congress' PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] region, were announced on Tuesday [25 June] night. The positions will be filled at the ANC's annual national congress in Durban next month.

The nominations, announced by ANC regional spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa on Tuesday night, are: Mr Oliver Tambo for honorary president; Mr Nelson Mandela for president; Mr Walter Sisulu for deputy president; Mr Cyril Ramaphosa for secretary-general; Mr Popo Molefe for deputy secretary-general; and Mr Arnold Stofile for treasurer.

In a statement, Mr Mamoepa said the emphasis placed by some quarters on individual nominees was unfortunate.

"The destiny of the country is of primary importance rather than the destiny of particular individuals.

"We therefore caution all against detracting the attention of our people from the real grievances against the system of apartheid and focusing on individual ANC members.

"For us, leaders come and go, but the masses remain," he said.

Pik Botha, Terreblanche on 'Afrikaner' State

*MB2506201891 Johannesburg South African
Broadcasting Corporation Network in English
1845 GMT 25 Jun 91*

[Text] The leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging [Afrikaner Resistance Movement, AWB], Mr. Eugene Terreblanche, says there will be no peace in South Africa unless the demands for an Afrikaner volkstaat [national state] are met. Mr. Terreblanche was speaking after a meeting with the minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Pik Botha, held in Johannesburg earlier today. Mr. Botha said he welcomed the meeting, because he regarded negotiation as the only way of solving differences between groups in South Africa. He said such

meetings give him a better insight into Mr. Terreblanche's actions. He said he foresaw further meetings with the AWB.

Working Groups Formed for Ending Violence

*MB2506201291 Johannesburg South African
Broadcasting Corporation Network in English
1845 GMT 25 Jun 91*

[Text] The cooperation between the government, the Inkatha Freedom Party, and the ANC [African National Congress] to end violence in South Africa has been taken a step further with the preparatory committee of the three parties agreeing to form five working groups. The working groups will formulate proposals on the issue. The committee formed at Saturday's [22 June] peace conference in Johannesburg decided that one of the working groups, in which the parties would each have three representatives, would strive for the expansion of the peace process by the inclusion of other parties.

Group To Be Watchdog Over Security Forces

*MB2106175691 Johannesburg NEW NATION
in English 21-27 Jun 91 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "SADF Checked"]

[Text] Plans to form a monitoring structure that would play a watchdog role over security forces were taken a step further this week at a secret meeting between former army major Nic Basson and key extra-parliamentary formations.

It is believed that among the structures represented at the meeting with Basson were human rights and political organisations.

A leader of one of the groups who attended the meeting and requested not to be identified at this stage confirmed the event. He said the project was still at a formative stage and could be jeopardised if detailed information was released.

Basson would also not say which organisations were represented but confirmed that the meeting had taken place. He further confirmed that the establishment of a monitoring body next week means that disgruntled senior army officers, who had earlier planned to resign from the South African Defence Force (SADF) in order to reveal details of covert army operations aimed at destabilising the ANC [African National Congress] and its allies. [sentence as published]

It is expected that details of the Army's activities would now be released through the monitoring structure expected to be made up of lawyers and academics.

Several senior army and police officers are known to have expressed an interest in working with the new organisation to expose the Army's covert destabilising activities.

It is believed that part of [the] information that could be released through the monitoring structure deals with secret military bases which accommodate mercenaries from a number of countries. A variety of arms caches are also said to be stored at these secret camps. Basson alleged last week that the SADF had been involved in buying large numbers of AK-47 rifles from Eastern European countries and African bandits.

The role of these mercenaries is said to have been kept secret from some of the most senior army officers.

Basson this week also challenged Defence Minister Magnus Malan to a public debate on the activities of the SADF.

He said the question that must be asked is whether it is not the same cabinet, which gave the go-ahead for "Operation Agree" to destabilise Namibia, that is now expecting to negotiate with the ANC.

Basson reiterated his claim that the continued existence of SADF forces like 32 Battalion, "Rocky Force" and the Civil Cooperation Bureau was ample proof that all was not well in the changing South Africa.

Meanwhile, Gazankulu Chief Minister and president of the Ximoko Progressive Party, Hudson Ntsanwisi, this week said that if his homeland was being used by the SADF for covert military operations, he had no knowledge of it.

He also denied knowledge of the existence of training camps.

Ntsanwisi said that his party had no clandestine plans to desilise the ANC or any liberation movement.

Sources Claim ANC Triangular Power Struggle

*MB2506125191 Johannesburg THE CITIZEN
in English 21 Jun 91 p 4*

[Unattributed report: "ANC Power Struggle Causing Talks Delay—PTA Source"]

[Text] Intelligence sources in Pretoria claim proof of a bitter triangular power struggle between the ANC [African National Congress], its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation] (MK) and the SA [South African] Communist Party [SACP]—and say this is the reason why the ANC is "stalling" on the start of real negotiations.

Meanwhile, MK, with up to 8,000 "soldiers" still in Zambia alone, is facing major problems in that country with massive polarisation and low morale because of an "Old Boy" versus "New Boy" power struggle within MK itself.

Back home in South Africa, the ANC is in financial difficulties—with hitherto lucrative financial sources drying up because of the ANC's increasingly tarnished foreign image.

Financial problems, it has been reported to the sources, have been aggravated by funds going missing and a special committee has allegedly been appointed to investigate the "mysterious evaporation of funds".

Reports have been filed that the situation among the MK men in Zambia is so tense that the life of its chief of staff, Mr Chris Hani, would be in danger if he were to visit MK camps there.

But for the MK in Zambia itself, say the sources, problems are increasing. Zambian civilians and the security forces are putting increasing pressure on the MK men to "get out" because of lawlessness among them, violence and muggings in the face of a national food shortage.

ANC-MK staffers have, reportedly, been selling off military hardware to get money to buy food—of using weapons to "terrorise" local people into giving them food.

The older MK men in Zambia, according to the sources, have also expressed unhappiness over the way in which delegates are being selected to the crucial ANC congress next month.

This was originally scheduled for April this year, but put ahead to July because of mushrooming tension in the top echelons.

The claim is that delegates are being "hand-picked" by the leading figures in the power struggle, to be able to vote calculatedly and to order—with only candidates to the congress allowed constitutionally to vote for the top men of the new National Executive Council of the ANC.

Ordinary members have no voting "status" in the issue.

The posts at stake here are those of president, vice-president, secretary-general and treasurer.

In MK, the leadership battle is between Mr Hani and its military commander, Mr Joe Modise, say the sources—with Mr Hani's main support coming from the ANC Youth League and, to some extent, from deputy leader Nelson Mandela.

Relationships have been further troubled by interference by the MK with bookings on aircrafts bringing back "political refugees" "new boy" MK men frequently displace and take the seats of bona fide refugees, it is alleged.

Meanwhile, the sources said yesterday there had been difficulties in Angola and Botswana as well.

In Angola there is said to be extensive unhappiness over the recruiting of MK trainees by Mr Peter Makaba, of the ANC Youth League, who is described as a "Hani man".

At the ANC-MK camp in Botswana at Dukwe—basically a transit and refugee-camp—conditions described as "shocking" are resulting in low morale, defections and a spirit of mutiny.

Further information received by the sources proves, they say, that Transkei is the launching pad for planned future MK action. This agreement was cemented as recently as April 27 in talks between the National Defence Committee of the ANC and the country's military ruler, Gen Bantu Holomisa.

ILANGA on Activities of ANC Military Wing

*MB2506185491 Durban ILANGA in Zulu
20-22 Jun 91 p 5*

[From the 'News Background' column; article published in English]

[Text] On June 8....

On June 8 this year a young recruit into the defence units of the African National Congress [ANC] had the following to say in a column called "Talk of the Townships" in The Natal Mercury:

".....within one hour he had recruited me for the ANC's defence units. I felt important and useful and he (the man who recruited him—editor) assured me the ANC would pay me a good salary.

"I was to be used in the Prickly Pear project, which is aimed at establishing defence units across the whole nation.

"I was sent to a training base north-west of a certain farm near a certain town in Transkei. "I was there for about three months, where I became a platoon commander in bush warfare. I specialised in sabotage, assassination and ambushes. I was to be armed with a rifle, a pistol and defensive grenades.

"We received instruction from a book called "For the sake of our lives".

"We practised training raids on police stations, on houses of KwaZulu members and their families, and other co-operators.

"I support the idea of negotiation, but now that the ANC no longer wants to talk, I would like to tell these things to everyone.

"People who have good education mislead the people with little education, promising them money.

"So I ran away from that camp with three documents, which you can see and keep, sir. I hope you can do something about it.

"I fear for my life because I am aware of the MK (Umkhonto we Sizwe—editor) code of conduct, which I have now broken."

With that, the writer of the column said, the youth gave him three battered pieces of paper, all clearly coming from a guerrilla training manual. The youth, the writer said, then got up with a sort of brave hopelessness, and left the writer's home. He had, he said, never seen him again. The column ended with the expression "I hope he is still alive."

On June 11.....

On June 11 this year three men were arrested by the police near the Transkei border. There were travelling in a stolen vehicle with false registration numbers.

In the car were AK47 rifles, hand grenades, a machine gun and a firearm fitted with a silencer. Also found were maps of townships around Durban and of the Richmond area.

One of the men arrested is the right-hand man of a prominent ANC leader.

Strangely, nothing about this incredible incident has been released to the media. Why? What is going on?

And in Umlazi this weekend, a prominent member of the ANC encouraged about 600 youngsters to build defence units.

The South African Government owes the public an explanation.

ANC's Kasrils Discusses Operation Vula

MB2506210791 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network
in English 1820 GMT 23 Jun 91

[Excerpt from an interview with ANC Military Intelligence head Ronnie Kasrils by Freek Robinson on the "AGENDA" program—live]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Robinson] Mr. Kasrils, first of all, you're out in the open now. Do you support the negotiating stance of the ANC [African National Congress]?

[Kasrils] Absolutely. No doubt about it, and I've said so all the time.

[Robinson] You've referred to Operation Vula, and I have as well, but that Operation Vula was uncovered by the police, and as you would expect, I have spoken to security policemen about this, and they gave me some information about this. They say they knew about this long before July last year when they uncovered it, but this was going on even after 2 February, and they say it was a bad break of faith.

[Kasrils] Not at all. The ANC has made it perfectly clear. Operation Vula began in 1987—that's when Mac Maharaj came to the country. It was in keeping with our almost 30 years' struggle as an underground organization, naturally having to organize in secret. Nineteen eighty-seven saw Maharaj and Sphiwe Nyanda and others coming in, and it was precisely to set up a senior ANC leadership inside the country. I came in at the very beginning of 1990, and of course big things did take place, as we know.

[Robinson] Yes, that's the question. Did it continue after 2 February?

[Kasrils] We were in place. The ANC leadership instructed us to remain in place, and...

[Robinson, interrupting] What does that mean, in place? Military structures? You had caches all over the country?

[Kasrils] Of course, the armed struggle was not terminated, it hasn't been terminated to this day. The government knows very well, even up to the D. F. Malan agreement, that the ANC has an underground structure, and that's been accepted. That very agreement simply said no new structures could be created. So this is something that has its roots in the past, and although we were here after the lifting of the ban, it was only much later, several months later—the Groote Schuur agreement—where agreement was taken at the beginning of May. That's the key date. Immediately after Groote Schuur the whole NEC [National Executive Committee] was given indemnity, and it was then that the leadership instructed Maharaj and myself to leave the country, to come back and participate in public organization. In July members of Vula were arrested, and this led to a chain reaction.

[Robinson] Yes, but the police said at the time you had meetings, and you were still planning to get underground structures in place, and a military operation. The police said

that the SACP [South African Communist Party] in particular—and you are a member of the SACP—were in charge of that, and that you were actually in bad faith even with the ANC.

[Kasrils] Absolutely not. Bad faith with the ANC? That's a crazy statement to make. The ANC were in charge of Vula. What happened while we were here, in May, was that the bans had been lifted, the party, the Communist Party, was considering how to launch itself publicly. We met in Tongaat, Natal, to discuss the question of how the party should emerge. At that meeting was Maharaj and myself, and a number of internal comrades. Public figures as well, but we had the right to discuss this in the...

[Robinson, interrupting] But you discussed more than that. With due respect, that's what the police say, according to the records that they seized as well.

[Kasrils] Yes, well, the records that they seized, they've never come out with them. At that stage they bragged that they had all that information. They had the minutes of that meeting. They talked about a Red plot, they talked about insurrection, and what did that meeting show? The full minutes of that meeting? That the main discussion was the emergence of the party, how it should function, and a number of issues concerning that.

[Robinson] Which party are you referring to?

[Kasrils] The Communist Party, I'm talking about. That's what the gist...

[Robinson, interrupting] But you said earlier it was an ANC operation.

[Kasrils] Just let me finish. No, the party was discussing its emergence. Vula was the ANC operation to set up an internal, senior ANC leadership. That meeting at Tongaat discussed the party's emergence. There was one item which discussed the party's program, which went back to 1988. At that time the party was not unbanned, De Klerk's speech hadn't been made. We were still at war. The party has a program in which it considered that the only feasible way to come to power was insurrection. I won't go on much longer, but just listen to this. At a meeting of the kind, when we were now discussing, in May 1990, the party's emergence, of course we had to take into account the existing program of the party, which said that the way to power would be through insurrection. I was the one...

[Robinson, interrupting] And military operations?

[Kasrils] Well, of course. I was the one who paraphrased for the meeting what that program was about. There was another individual there, who was called Comrade Joe. That was Siphiwe Nyanda, and he spoke about this as well. So we were perfectly entitled to discuss that. What the Special Branch did, in their pristine ignorance, was to seize on the name, Comrade Joe, to assume it was Joe Slovo, and they totally exaggerated the meeting for propaganda purposes, to say we were up to insurrection.

[Robinson] Mr. Kasrils, I'm personally not very concerned about who Comrade Joe was. What I'm concerned about, and I think many South Africans out there, is: What were

your intentions at the time, because they were certainly not peaceful, at a time when the whole thrust of politics in South Africa was peaceful?

[Kasrils] But of course they were peaceful. It was about the emergence of the legal Communist Party. I've explained to you. There was one item which laid out what the old strategy had been, and to discuss the new role of the party, of course we had to refer to that program.

[Robinson] Alright. Let's talk about today. It seems to me we're going to argue for a long time about this. Today, do you reject the concept of insurrection?

[Kasrils] Yes. I think that it's not feasible. There's a new possibility. There's a possibility to change the iniquitous racial system in this country by peaceful means, by negotiations, by talking, which the ANC kept insisting on up to its banning in 1960.

[Robinson] And no double agenda on back-door violence?

[Kasrils] There should not be. From our part...

[Robinson, interrupting] What is yours?

[Kasrils] No double agenda, no back-door violence at all. If the government really allows full political peaceful process to take place, then there will be no recourse to that. But you ask me if there's a double agenda. I ask the government: Do they have a double agenda? Because we've got to be sure about their faith. That's what counts, too. This is not just a one-sided thing, and quite frankly, they...

[Robinson] And they about yours.

[Kasrils] Yes, sure. They're human beings too, we're human beings. We have the right to ask those questions. It's a government which has had a very bad record. Still today we have the problem of political prisoners, of indemnity, of exiles.

[Robinson] Mr. Kasrils, we're going to talk about that to Minister Coetsee in a moment. Thank you for your contribution tonight.

[Kasrils] Good night. [preceeding two words in Afrikaans]

ANC Guerrilla Training Reportedly Upgraded

*MB2506122191 Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English
23 Jun 91 p 9*

[Report by Themba Khumalo: "MK (Spear of the Nation; African National Congress military wing) Readies for New Role"]

[Text] Thousands of ANC [African National Congress] cadres in camps in various African states are being retrained to prepare them to take over the army in a new South Africa. Umkhonto we Sizwe [MK] commander Joe Modise told CITY PRESS in an exclusive interview.

He said the guerrillas, whose exact figure he would not reveal for security reasons, were being trained by military experts in conventional army methods.

"Their training is being upgraded. It is no longer the old guerrilla training. They are now being trained as professionals and their morale is very high because they are being prepared for the future protection of a democratic constitution," Modise said.

The softspoken ANC commander left this week for the camps, which are scattered around various African states, to assess the progress made with the new training. He disclosed that thousands of youths were still leaving the country to undergo training with MK.

Speaking from the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters before his departure, Modise confirmed allegations of a mutiny within the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe in the late 70's.

"There was a mutiny and naturally if you are a military man during such a crisis people are killed. In this instance some mutineers had shot down senior commanders and had occupied part of the camp. Naturally one could only stop that by force of arms, and that is what happened," Modise also said the controversial Quattro Prison, run by the ANC in Angola, no longer existed and almost all its inmates had been freed. Those that were not out were waiting for the International Red Cross to repatriate them. The Red Cross appeared to be having difficulty in securing indemnity for them.

Modise said many of the former prisoners had been sent by the South African regime on various tasks.

"Some had come to poison people in the camps, including children at school. Others had come to murder ordinary guerrillas and their leaders within the camps.

"There were those who had come for ordinary spying. Some of them succeeded in sketching one of our camps in Angola and it was subsequently completely flattened by the South African commandos.

"Fortunately we had prior information about the planned attack and we removed everyone from the camp, leaving a few cadres to guard major installations. The attack took place and three of our comrades who were on guard were killed during that raid. This is the work which was carried out by the people that we apprehended."

Modise said in view of the fact the government was releasing political prisoners, his organisation had decided to reciprocate that gesture with the freeing of its captives.

Asked if there was any possibility the negotiations might collapse and force the ANC to return to the bush, Modise said it was highly unlikely the talks would fail. It was in the interest of all South Africans to ensure the talks did not reach a point of collapse.

"Frankly, we see no reason why these negotiations should fail. There will be hiccups. It will not be the first time this has happened. Many other negotiations elsewhere had been through a lean spell before.

"I believe ours won't collapse because it is not only in our interest that they succeed, but in the interest of the government as well. De Klerk doesn't have much time. Time is on our side.

"In fact the onus is on him to see these talks succeed. Naturally, if all the avenues to a peaceful settlement are closed to us, then we will have no option but to return to other methods of struggle, including the armed struggle."

Reacting to a recent statement in which Defence Minister Magnus Malan had vowed that the government would not allow a neutral figure to oversee the defence force during the transitional period, Modise insisted that the government could not be the player and referee at the same time. It was therefore important that the defence force be as neutral as possible.

However, he pointed out that the question of a neutral referee during the transitional period was a matter for discussion by all involved in the peace process.

Asked if guerrilla warfare could bring down the government, given the strength and sophisticated nature of its army, Modise said guerrilla warfare would be too costly to the country's economy, which was already in a shambles.

"If we have to resort to armed struggle we will succeed in that. All countries that had embarked on that type of struggle have succeeded, but all I'm saying is that violence is not in the interest of all.

"The best option at our disposal is a peaceful settlement of our country's problems," said Modise.

He scoffed at suggestions that Magnus Malan had preferred to deal with him rather than with out-spoken MK chief of staff Chris Hani.

Modise said he met Malan only once during one of the major meetings between the ANC and the government. "That was the last time I met Malan, and there is no personal relationship between the two of us."

Modise also said his organisation had infiltrated the South African security forces through a spying network.

Modise issued a veiled warning to anyone who planned to attack or disrupt the forthcoming ANC national conference in Durban.

The ANC was going to Durban with peaceful intentions and they must be left in peace to hold their conference peacefully, he said.

"We don't expect an attack from Inkatha. At the last peace conference between us and them they committed themselves to the maintenance of peace and believe that they will stick to that commitment. But if there are individuals who are not going to honour that commitment, we shall take steps to protect ourselves."

Inkatha Claims Membership of 100,000 Whites*MB2506101191 Johannesburg THE STAR in English
25 Jun 91 p 6*

[Report by Esmare van der Merwe: "100,000 Whites Join IFP (Inkatha Freedom Party)—Claim"]

[Text] The Inkatha Freedom Party had a white membership of 100,000, half of whom lived in the Transvaal, party spokesman Suzanne Vos said yesterday.

More than 3,000 branches had been formed countrywide, including the Transvaal areas of Sandown, Bryanston, Boksburg, Benoni, Randburg, Pretoria, Hillbrow and Middelburg.

She said former Democratic Party supporters, English-speaking ex-Nationalists and Afrikaans students had joined.

Asked how recruiting was being done, she said: "We have no money. People who really believe in our values and principles spread the word."

THE STAR is in possession of two IFP letters which had been sent to people to thank them for joining the party—although they had never applied.

It congratulated them for having made "a sound choice" and referred to IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi as "the leader of your party".

Asked to comment, Ms Vos joked: "Well, I'm amazed at the efficiency."

She continued: "This is extremely irregular. I have no idea how such a thing could have happened. We keep thorough records. People who subscribe to the IFP's principles join of their own free will."

Transvaal executive member Themba Khoza was equally apologetic. "I am very, very sorry. I think it must be a big mistake," he said.

Union Urges Nationalization Without Compensation*MB2406133091 Johannesburg SABA in English
1223 GMT 24 Jun 91*

[Text] Johannesburg June 24 SABA—The 100,000-strong SA [South African] Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union (SACCAWU) advocated extensive nationalisation without compensation at its Third National Congress held at the weekend in Johannesburg.

In a statement issued by the union on Monday, SACCAWU said its members believed that their struggle for democratic rights must be accompanied by the eradication of "apartheid capitalism", including cheap labour, compounds and bad education.

It said only a socialist society could eliminate poverty, unemployment, the housing crisis and meet the needs of the people.

SACCAWU resolved that the economy should be controlled by the working class through nationalisation of health, transport and utilities without compensation.

The union also indicated "that there should be socialisation of the means of production, distribution and exchange, and planning of production by workers", the statement said.

The resolution also calls for the nationalisation of banks and other financial institutions.

In another resolution, SACCAWU called for state funds to immediately be made available to upgrade hostels and to provide new accommodation for hostel dwellers.

It said workers were entitled to better living conditions where they can be with their families.

And in addressing the violence, SACCAWU noted blamed vigilantes and CCB [Civil Cooperation Bureau] operatives for the killings.

The union went on to call for the formation of township defence units with the assistance of cadres of the ANC's [African National Congress] Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation, MK—ANC military wing] and the PAC's [Pan-Africanist Congress] Azanian Peoples' Liberation Army (APLA).

It said these defence units should be controlled and operated the communities.

PAC Youth Faction Opts for Marx, Lenin, Mao*MB2506163491 Johannesburg SABA in English
1546 GMT 25 Jun 91*

[Text] Johannesburg June 25 SABA—A breakaway faction of the PAC's [Pan-Africanist Congress] youth wing, the Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu), has slated the principal of negotiations as "a ploy to maintain capitalism and settler-colonialism", at its congress held on June 23 and 24.

In resolutions passed at the congress by the faction, it also rejected PAC policy regarding a constituent assembly, instead saying the armed struggle was not launched to create such a body.

Furthermore, it condemned the "betrayal" by the UN and the OAU "who engineered and are still hoisting the imperialists' rape of Africa".

The faction adopted the philosophies of Marx, Lenin and Mao as a guide to a socialist revolution along with the 1959 PAC manifesto.

The congress also adopted the "One settler—one bullet" as its official guiding policy.

The faction has come under severe criticism from PAC officials who have ousted its members for deviating from party policy.

SAAF, Neighboring States' Air Forces Compared*MB2406112791 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY
in English 24 Jun 91 p 9*

[Article by Linden Birns: "No Enemy, But SAAF Hones Skills"]

[Text] According to statistics published in the latest edition of the WORLD DEFENCE ALMANAC, which assesses the

force levels and capabilities of all countries, SA's neighbours do not pose any meaningful threat in the skies.

One southern African country which does have a bigger military capability in terms of hardware than SA is Angola. However, the recent withdrawal of Cuban troops from that country, cuts in Soviet military support and the recent ceasefire between the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] forces have reduced any potential for conflict.

Zimbabwe's air force consists of little more than 1,000 men equipped with 10 30-year-old Hawker Hunters, 23 Mig 21s, seven British Aerospace Hawk light attack aircraft, and about 50 other assorted transport and training aircraft and helicopters.

That country's unconfirmed order for 12 state-of-the-art Soviet-built Mig 29s could pose a threat to SA's air-power superiority in the region if the SAAF does not upgrade its aircraft. Continued development of the Cava jet fighter is some evidence that SAAF generals are conscious of this.

Mozambique's air force comprises 26 Mig 23s and 30 Mig 21s, 11 helicopters, 16 trainers and 23 transport aircraft.

Namibia has a limited army, no navy and a commando-style air force comprising mostly private pilots in light aircraft suitable for reconnaissance work.

By comparison, the WORLD DEFENCE ALMANAC says the SAAF, manned by more than 13,500 personnel, has a combat-ready component equipped with 30 Mirage F-1AZs, 10 Mirage F-1CZs, 85 Impala MkIIs, 124 Impala MkIs, 18 Cheetahs, four Boeing 707 in-flight refuellers, 82 Puma/Oryx helicopters, 72 Alouette III helicopters and about 15 assorted Mirage IIIs in various configurations.

It adds that the SAAF also has about 200 other aircraft used as trainers, many of which can easily be converted to combat status.

Talks With International Arms Manufacturers Noted
MB2506102391 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 25 Jun 91 p 3

[Report by Linden Birns: "Armcor Discloses Co-Operation Talks"]

[Text] Armcor [Armaments Corporation of South Africa] admitted for the first time yesterday that it had been involved in talks with other international arms manufacturers on joint projects.

Armcor Executive Chairman Johan van Vuuren said yesterday: "Other armaments industries in various parts of the world have for some time been having direct talks with Armcor about various forms of co-operation."

He said the interest shown in Armcor by certain French industrialists was not a surprise. He was reacting to reports that the French held talks recently with an ANC [African National Congress] official about Armcor's future.

He said Armcor was looked upon with great interest and a degree of envy because of its position as a world player and a national asset.

A weekend newspaper report said French military industrialists had met an ANC delegation to discuss French assistance to Armcor and the SA [South African] military under a future SA government.

The report said French industrialists involved in avionics and navigation components for military aircraft arranged for an ANC delegation to visit France recently. ANC sources said one of their officials attended the Paris Air Show as a guest of a French manufacturer.

Military analyst and JANE'S DEFENCE WEEKLY SA correspondent Helmoed Romer-Heitman said it made good sense for the French to maintain links with potential SA leaders as a lot of SA Defence Force equipment was of French origin.

"The big problem the foreign manufacturers will have to realise is that we cannot, and probably will not be able to, afford their products," he said. He said it was unlikely Armcor would allow its exclusive technology to fall into the hands of competitors.

Heitman said it was probable that co-operation between Armcor and foreign manufacturers would occur, either in development or production.

The SA Air Force's [SAAF] Mirage F-1 and Mirage III (now Cheetah) jet fighters were supplied by French manufacturer Dassault, while another French company, Aerospatiale, had supplied the SAAF with its Puma, Alouette and Super Frelon helicopters, it also supplied the SA Army with the Milan anti-tank missile systems.

French companies linked to the SADF [South African Defence Force] are Panhard (Eland armoured car), Thomson CSF and Matra (Cactus surface-to-air missile systems), Giat and Defa (guns and mortars), Snecma (jet engines for Mirage and Cheetah aircraft) and Turbomeca (turboshaft engines for Puma/Oryx and Super Frelon helicopters).

JANE'S ARMS AND ARTILLERY says the SADF also uses Swedish, Swiss, British and Soviet-made arms.

Chinese Government Pledges Assistance to PAC
MB2506101591 Johannesburg THE STAR in English 25 Jun 91 p 6

[Unattributed report: "China Offers Assistance to the PAC"]

[Text] The Chinese Government has pledged assistance to the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] president Clarence Makwetu said in Johannesburg yesterday.

The aid was discussed during his recent visit to China, where he met Communist Party secretary-general Jiang Zemin.

He also met the head of the international department of the central committee, Zhu Hiang [name as published].

The two leaders, he said, had reiterated their firm support to the liberation struggle.

But Mr Makwetu would not elaborate on what assistance the Chinese would provide. This would be made known later.

The Chinese officials were also briefed on demands for a constituent assembly, violence in the country and the need to maintain sanctions.

Mr Makwetu said the PAC rejected the ANC [African National Congress] proposal of a phased reduction of sanctions.

Buthelezi Returns From U.S., UK Visit

*MB2606092091 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0833 GMT 26 Jun 91*

[Text] Johannesburg June 26 SAPA—South Africa needs a strong and intact ANC [African National Congress], which would hopefully get its act together at its impending national conference, according to Inkatha President Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi.

He was addressing a press conference at Jan Smuts Airport on Wednesday [26 June] morning, following his return from Great Britain and America.

Mr Buthelezi expressed his support for the possibility of the ANC's Mr Jacob Zuma to be elected as deputy president of the organisation.

"Mr Zuma is a man I respect. He has been very constructive since he returned. He impressed me as honest, which is a difficult thing in politics."

Mr Buthelezi said there was no reason why there should be an escalation of violence in the Natal region preceding the ANC conference. He said suggestions in this regard were irresponsible and that nobody could gain from an escalation of conflict.

He said the question of security for ANC delegates would be left in the hands of the police "we will however ensure that the townships are safe, if any one of them (delegates) should be staying in the townships".

All his overseas discussions had been extremely successful, reporters were told.

He said he had been encouraged by the U.S. attitude towards the lifting of sanctions. "I expected that the goal posts might be moved, but nothing of this kind happened".

He said U.S. President George Bush had been quite explicit that sanctions would be removed once all U.S. conditions were fulfilled including the release of political prisoners.

There has been great concern in the U.S. and the UK about the level of violence in SA [South Africa]. Mr Buthelezi said he had "rather liked" British Premier John Major. "He is a man who is very well informed about this country.

"What impressed me the most, was that he was very well informed about the extent that poverty is threatening us."

Referring again to next week's ANC conference, Chief Buthelezi expressed apprehension about the possible election of ANC Natal Midlands representative, Mr Harry Gwala, to the organisation's national executive.

Though it was the ANC's prerogative to elect whoever they wanted, Mr Gwala's past record of conflict with Inkatha in the region was cause for concern, he added.

Questioned on his perception of the recent church-brokered peace conference, the KwaZulu leader said the January 29 meeting between himself and ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela had been "far more important" and had reaped positive results in some Natal regions.

He denied knowledge of who was responsible for the recent flare-up of violence in Natal and Soweto.

He also denied knowledge of and expressed concern about alleged SA Defence Force infiltrations into his party, describing them as "a big smear on the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party]".

25 Jun Press Review on Current Issues, Problems

MB2506120991

[Editorial Report]

THE CITIZEN

ANC To Demonstrate Support at July Congress—The African National Congress, ANC, "intends to make its national congress in Durban a scene stealer, with as many foreign dignitaries as it can muster," notes Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 24 June in its page 6 editorial. Although the ANC claims it has not invited heads of state but political organizations, THE CITIZEN believes the intention is to "demonstrate not only the widespread support it has internationally but also justify its claim to be a government in waiting."

THE STAR

ANC-Inkatha-Government Peace Pact Welcome—Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 25 June in a page 28 editorial states: "There are two ways of looking at the peace pact forged at the weekend under the aegis of church and business leaders: either as meaningless political piety or a meaningful first step to ending the violence. We take the latter view." The "wide ideological spectrum" represented and the "step-by-step approach" are "auspicious signs."

Sooner or Later CP To Catch Up With Present—"It may seem quaint to think of a far-right party having a left wing, but behind the Conservative's [CP] facade of granite-like resistance to change, undercurrents of realism are at work," points out a second editorial on the same page. At grassroots level these are evidenced by the "constructive response to black trade boycotts" in some CP-controlled towns. At leadership level one symptom is the "differences between Koos van der Merwe MP [member of parliament] and the majority of his caucus over whether to get aboard the negotiations train, or merely to throw stones from the sidelines." "Sooner or later" the CP will have to "catch up

with the present, just as the NP [National Party] did, instead of clinging to impossible dreams."

BUSINESS DAY

New Mood of Political Optimism—The "apparently successful peace summit" on 22 June, the talks this week between the ANC and the justice department on political prisoners, and some signs that the ANC's July congress could resuscitate political negotiations "are all contributing to a new mood of optimism," says a page 8 editorial in Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 25 June. However, obstacles remain and "circumstances have changed since the heady days of last August." "Early progress has been measured by smiles and handshakes. The conflicts of the past 10 months, and the list of broken promises whether real or imagined, mean that future agreements will be much harder to reach."

CAPE TIMES

Fears Remain About Political Killings—Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 21 June in a page 6 editorial notes that political killings have become "pretty regular happenings" and "the suspicion has grown in the black political community that they add up to a pattern of planned assassination of militant opponents of the government. As long as such fears remain current there can hardly be much chance of fruitful negotiations."

CITY PRESS

Criticism of Mandela's Media Sensitivity—Khulu Sibiyi writes in the "My Way" column on page 10 of Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English on 23 June on Nelson Mandela's reprimand of the press for its coverage of a leadership struggle in the ANC, saying: "Mandela should not be so sensitive. The press he is criticising today fought for his release. It made him the most famous prisoner in the world and focused international attention on South Africa. Today the ANC enjoys the centre of the political stage, thanks to the efforts of the media."

26 Jun Press Review

MB2606115591

[Editorial Report]

THE STAR

Trade Union Demands Part of Economic Problem—"Inflation at 15.2 percent is shattering news, implying that after more than two years of high interest rates, shrinking money supply and widespread economic deprivation, scant progress has been made," declares Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 26 June in a page 24 editorial. Along with excessive state spending, "part of the problem is a hugely successful trade union wage lobby." Seeking to "redress past imbalances and itself caught up in the inflationary spiral, South Africa's fledgling trade union movement has negotiated pay increases well ahead of the official inflation rate." THE STAR urges trade unions to "moderate their demands" and business to "moderate its exploitation of consumers shell-shocked by inflation."

Unions To Fight For Independence in Post-Apartheid Era—A second editorial on the same page states: "As trade unions confer in the run-up to the Cosatu [Congress of South African Trade Unions] congress next month, a clear trend is emerging: unions will fight hard to protect their independence in the post-apartheid era." The message from two recent congresses "clearly signalled not only to the ANC [African National Congress], but also to employer organisations, that unions will be nobody's tool. Seen in the light of the politicisation of unions during the bad days of repression, this is a healthy move."

BUSINESS DAY

Monetary Policies Too Restrictive—Inflation's latest rise to 15.2 percent is "unlikely to budge the Reserve Bank from its stance that high interest rates and strict monetary policies remain essential if inflation is to be cut," states a page 10 editorial in Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 26 June. The Reserve Bank's strategy for beating inflation "has not worked," and has led to "growing insolvencies as small firms cave in to unbearable interest rates and underutilisation of capacity as official austerity measures bite. We urgently need less restrictive monetary policies to encourage competition, particularly a lowering of interest rates that will lead to capital investment, job creation and the competition needed if inflation is to be cut permanently."

SOUTH

Country To Need Economic Assistance From African States—Cape Town SOUTH in English for 13-19 June in a page 24 editorial says the "euphoria" surrounding State President De Klerk's "latest African safari is a bubble that must be burst lest the government and its supporters start believing that all apartheid's sins have been forgiven and that South Africa can now trade its way to acceptance by the continent's 'family of nations'." SOUTH notes that many African states and especially those in the Frontline are "being advised against the belief that a future South Africa will serve as the 'breadbasket' and economic engine of Africa. There is more credence in a scenario that this near-bankrupt country will require all its resources to feed and develop its own people and possibly require assistance from African states!"

MAYIBUYE

Mass Action To Urge Government To Cross Rubicon—Johannesburg MAYIBUYE in English for June in its page 1 editorial notes the National Party has reached its rubicon and that the ANC has "offered a helping hand" for the party to cross it. The ANC has made "concrete proposals on how violence can be dealt with. In mass action it hopes to nudge the government, delicately indeed, to brave the cold waters of the rubicon. And the ANC has shown an incredible measure of reasonableness in addressing the problems at hand. But will they cross? Society as a whole must ensure they do!"

*** HNP Criticizes Koos Van Der Merwe Document**

91AF1120A Pretoria DIE AFRIKANER in Afrikaans
24 Apr 91 p 12

[Article: "Koos Document Shocking"]

[Text] Koos van der Merwe, CP MP [Conservative Party] [Member of Parliament] for Overvall and Head for the CP, caused a great commotion last week both inside and outside the CP, when a document came to light that he (and others) had drafted in October 1990.

What is special about this document is the extent to which it concurs with NP [National Party] policy and viewpoints and at the same time runs counter to the professed policy trends of the CP and the pronouncements of its leaders, an anomaly which universally strengthens the presumption that strange influences are at work within the CP, influences that have caused serious political differences of opinion within this party. Already in the past there was speculation that the CP is divided into left and right wings, in particular concerning the role it has played in negotiations; and in this context, Mr. Van der Merwe's name has been associated with the left side in various ways.

The document in question is dated 6 November 1990 and is thus scarcely six months old.

Among the shocking points of view that appear within its pages are the following:

- 1) The CP is to take part in the negotiations dealing with the new South Africa and a federal option for the whites is to be considered;
- 2) The government has a mandate for its current reforms;
- 3) Piet Skiet Rudolph and other rightist "VIP's" are probably agents of the South African intelligence services;
- 4) President De Klerk, at that point of time—that is, before his speech on 1 February of the current year—had already won over foreign favor to such an extent that sanctions and isolation could be abolished;
- 5) The CP leadership must do away with its ban on talks with the ANC [African National Congress] and the SAKP [South African Communist Party];
- 6) Political change in the country is already irreversible, and even if the CP takes over the government, it will not be able to put matters to right;
- 7) Blacks are permanent inhabitants of "White South Africa," and it is no longer realistic to deny them their political rights; indeed, they must be accommodated at the highest level.
- 8) Coloreds and Indians have vested political rights in parliament and on provincial committees and regional service councils;
- 9) The black union is firmly established and cannot be ignored or underestimated, and that monster will not let itself be done to death and is even in a position to destroy the country economically;

10) The ANC and the SAKP are permanently legalized, and no future government can ever again ban them, because foreign reaction will ferret out any attempts that South Africa may make to render them powerless;

11) The possibility that the CP may force an election is slim, and new strategies must be found.

12) President De Klerk will win a referendum among white voters;

13) The CP is to become involved so deeply with the negotiations that it may possibly come out the winner;

14) Rightist oppressors are often simply people with criminal tendencies and personality disorders;

15) It is no longer possible for whites to retain 87 percent of the land;

16) Everyone must accept the fact that there will be more and more blacks in a white nation, and that in this way "whiteness" will gradually be phased out;

17) The CP must accept the fact that the days of apartheid are numbered, and that people must be able to live, work, go to school, swim, or play wherever they wish, and even get the vote;

18) The CP must recognize the inevitability and even the necessity of a new South Africa.

According to Mr. Van der Merwe, the document, 45 type-written pages long, was drawn up at the behest of CP leader Dr. Andries Treurnicht, and he explains further that it was a team effort, that he was not the only one to work on it, in other words. The input of an ad hoc committee appointed by the CP national executive committee in September 1990 was also taken into account, it is said.

After the document was brought to light, Mr. Van der Merwe immediately issued a press statement and personally handed a copy of it to each of the CP MP's. Dr. Treurnicht initially recognized the existence of the document, but later said that it "amounted to a dish of leftovers served up under a new sauce," whereas in reality the document is not even six months old.

On the TV program, "Agenda," Mr. Van der Merwe naturally denied that any schism was threatening the CP. He did not particularly dwell, however, on the viewpoints expressed in the above-mentioned document. The liberal program host, Harald Pakendorf, did not ask any penetrating questions about the document. If the document was compiled by a group, that means that there was more than one person who supported the opinions it contained.

Mr. Van der Merwe also said on the program that he does not endorse everything that appears in the document; yet that document was published in his name without his qualifying any of the statements it contained. If he does not endorse the statements in his own document, then the question is: Whose point of view is it that is set forth in the document? If no one in the CP lays claim to the opinions expressed in the document, this implies that people other than CP leaders have worked on it and have submitted it to

the national executive committee of that party for discussion and even possible acceptance.

It is utterly incomprehensible that an official opposition party in parliament should be the seedbed for political viewpoints which in fact, item for item, amount to a copy of NP policy.

If the NP could have presented its own input, the document would not have seemed much different.

* Controversy Surrounds Cost of Mossas Project

91AF1180A Cape Town WEEKEND ARGUS
in English 25 May 91 pp 1, 3

[Article by Frans Esterhuyse, Political Correspondent]

[Text] Costs of the giant Mossas fuel project are set to balloon again—this time by a staggering R[ands]4-billion.

This information, obtained by WEEKEND ARGUS from unofficial sources, raises new fears in business and political circles that the project is destined to become South Africa's biggest "white elephant"—and a growing additional burden on taxpayers.

So far, the information has not been confirmed or denied by the government following a request for further details and comment, faxed earlier this week to the new Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs Mr George Bartlett.

The 17-line WEEKEND ARGUS request was referred to top officials in the department, but a spokesman said it might take anything up to a week to provide answers.

Both the government and Mossas have lately been maintaining a tight-lipped silence on cost estimates, which have so far almost doubled since an original R5.5-billion estimate when the project was launched at Mossel Bay in 1987. Since then, in mid-1989, Mossas reported a capital cost estimate of R7.8-billion and this figure rose to R8.8-billion last year.

In recent times—as the cost estimate grew bigger and bigger—Mossas has come to be regarded as a costly leftover of former President P.W. Botha's "siege economy." With sanctions against South Africa crumbling, the relevance of Mossas to the country's economic priorities is said to be declining fast.

The latest unofficial cost estimate given to WEEKEND ARGUS by sources close to government is about R13-billion—nearly R4-billion up from the 1990 official estimate of about R8.8-billion.

Mossas managing director Mr Bernard Smith this week described the suggested R4-billion increase as "completely unrealistic," but he declined to disclose the latest figures. While admitting there will be cost increases, he says they will be "minor" in relation to the figure mentioned to WEEKEND ARGUS.

However, Democratic Party energy spokesman Mr Roger Hulley says that, earlier this year, he heard "whispers"

about a big cost increase. The figure mentioned to him put the total cost at about R12-billion.

It was this information—from an "authoritative source"—that had prompted Mr Hulley to table questions in Parliament in March about the estimated total cost and viability of the Mossas project.

Among questions he put to the then Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs, Dr Dawie de Villiers, were: What is the latest estimate for the total cost of the project, and in respect of what date is this estimate furnished?

No Information

The Minister replied: "During October 1990 it was indicated to the press that the estimate for the fixed capital cost of the FA [expansion not given] development was R8.8-billion at that stage, and that the final cost would be reported at the completion in 1992." The date given by Dr De Villiers for the estimate he mentioned was July 1990.

Mossas's Mr Smith gave as his reason for nondisclosure of the latest estimates that Dr De Villiers had indicated no further information would be given until the final cost was reported at the completion of the project in 1992.

According to Mr Smith, Mossas reviews its cost estimates on a monthly basis and "there are changes from time to time."

It could not be established this week whether or not the new Minister, Mr Bartlett, would continue his predecessor's policy of withholding further information until the project has been completed. Officials in his department who were asked about this did not know the answer.

White Elephant

Meanwhile, Mr Hulley has called on the government urgently to issue a new, revised White Paper on energy policy. He says expenditure on the synthetic fuel programme should be "slashed to the bone" in the light of political developments—and current projects should be shelved.

Mossas should be re-evaluated, he says. Consideration should be given to having the project "moth-balled," or to diverting it to other uses, or slowing it down.

Mr Hulley, during debate in parliament earlier this month, described Mossas as "a gold-plated white elephant" and said it was "a spectacular waste of money which was inspired by the siege mentality of the P.W. Botha era."

It was a project that created only about 1,000 highly specialised jobs—often for people who had to be imported—and it could only satisfy about five percent of the nation's fuel requirements, at a real cost price that was more than double the present and projected market price of crude oil. This seemed to be a "gross distortion" of economic priorities.

Mr Hulley suggested that for less than half the cost of Mossas, electricity could have been supplied to all South Africa's homes, bringing a direct benefit to 20-million South Africans, and creating tens of thousands of new jobs.

Angola

Van Dunem Reportedly To Be Appointed Premier

MB2506100391 Johannesburg THE STAR in English
25 Jun 91 p 10

[Report by Dale Lautenbach: "Angola Gets Premier Again"]

[Text] Windhoek—Angola has its first prime minister in 14 years—former minister of planning Fernando Jose de Franca van Dunem.

Angolan Government sources in Luanda said Dr van Dunem's appointment would be officially announced soon and that the appointment of a prime minister was a reflection of the present MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] government "gearing up" to the new political life which promises multiparty elections by November next year.

Dr van Dunem, a doctor of law, was appointed minister of planning almost a year ago as a man equipped to lead the Angolan economic system away from central planning to a more open system in which free-market forces were recognised.

Western diplomats in Luanda have had little praise for Dr van Dunem's competence, but his appointment as prime minister is almost certainly a measure of confidence in his abilities by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and the ruling party.

Angola's previous prime minister, Lopo do Nascimento, held office in 1977. Asked why the position was scrapped at the time, an Angolan Government source shrugged and said: "It's the way one-party systems work".

Mr do Nascimento, who in recent months was widely tipped to become prime minister once again, also has a prominent position in Angolan political life now as minister of territorial administration and special political adviser to the president. He led the Angolan Government delegation at the peace talks and now heads the Joint Political and Military Commission (CCPM) in which the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] rebels and the government share a forum to oversee the peace process.

In a recent interview with THE STAR's Africa News Service while he was still minister of planning, Dr van Dunem said he foresaw his ministry moving away from one of control and regulation to one of providing guidance.

"The Planning Ministry will only be a guide, presenting the objectives the government wants to attain but letting the economic agents do the rest," he said.

He criticised the former price-fixing methods of the centralised economy as one which created enormous distortions because the real cost of goods was never taken into consideration.

The price of Angolan-assembled television sets, for example, had risen seven times in one leap, but "if we're to enter a free-market economy we have to give goods real prices; the law of supply and demand must prevail".

Asked why the shift to a less controlled system was taking so long (the probable reason for the Western diplomats' criticism of Dr van Dunem), he said the main obstacles had been the war and a lack of expertise. "We don't have the right people in the right places. What counted in the past was their political fidelity in the confusion of party and state," he said.

UNITA: Lobito Harbor Strike 'Legitimate'

MB2606073691 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance
of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern
and Central Africa 0530 GMT 26 Jun 91

[Commentary: "A Legitimate Demand"]

[Text] The Lobito harbor workers' current general and indefinite strike arises from demands for improved salaries and working conditions, and this is a legitimate attitude within the context of the struggle for the Angolan people's dignity.

At a time of political and social change in this country, the Angolan workers have the obligation and duty to force the Government of the People's Republic of Angola to take concrete, objective, and practical measures to provide acceptable living conditions and social dignity to all living forces [as heard] in Angola, notably workers, peasants, public servants, students, and so on.

The Lobito harbor workers' demands for better salaries and working conditions have every reason to be so. Only one month ago they were promised a speedy solution to all the problems that they have faced for longer than a decade. Lobito harbor's economic and social losses arising from this strike must be fully blamed on the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] government because it has not known how to deal with the Angolan people's concerns. Its governance is so notoriously poor that at a time when oppressed workers go on strike, it cannot do better than use depressing and evasive language. This attitude in the face of social problems has been characteristic of the regime that has oppressed the Angolan people over the last 16 years. It reflects the Angolan Government's indifference toward issues connected with the Angolan people's living conditions.

The Angolan people in general, and workers in particular, should view the initiative by the workers of the Lobito commercial harbor as an example to be followed by all so that UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], under the leadership of comrade President Jonas Savimbi, can work to introduce a new mentality and a spirit of preserving social justice [as heard] in the country, as well as building an Angola that is truly prosperous and worthy of respect.

Long live democracy!

Long live UNITA!

United behind President Dr. Savimbi, we shall win!

Unavem: UNITA Mavinga Headquarters Not Open

*MB2606074191 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 25 Jun 91*

[Text] Observers in Luanda have noted that UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] has not yet opened its Mavinga regional headquarters to the Unavem 2 [UN Angola Verification Mission] forces. The other five regional headquarters have already been opened. They are in Luanda, Saurimo, Luena, Huambo, and Lubango and will receive the Unavem 2 personnel responsible for supervising the implementation of the Angolan Government-UNITA cease-fire accord. In an interview with Radio Angola, General Pericles Ferreira Gomes, head of the Unavem forces, said that he is still waiting for UNITA's reply concerning the opening of the Mavinga regional headquarters.

New Party Coordinator Explains Platform

*MB2506065591 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 24 Jun 91*

[Text] Mr. Paulino Pinto Joao, the National Democratic Convention of Angola's [CND] Installing Commission coordinator, announced in Luanda today that the CND will be fighting for a system based on political, economic, and social democracy in this country. Speaking at a news conference to explain that emerging party's program, Mr. Paulino Joao said that, because of the many problems facing Angola, the CND will be working for real national reconciliation based on tolerance and consensus.

Asked by a Radio Luanda reporter why he had left the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] after serving it for 29 years, the CND's Installing Commission coordinator replied:

[Begin Joao recording] I do not feel obliged to stay on with a party whose ideals I no longer share. We are in a pluralist and multiparty society and one is free to choose whatever party serves one's interests best. That is what I have done. I must tell you that my account with the MPLA is fully paid up, thus I have absolutely nothing to do with the MPLA anymore. Those who know me know that I have never been a satellite to anyone. I have also never served the interests of groups or persons. If I did my job, all well and good. If I failed to do my job, history will judge me. [end recording]

Asked whether his party would seek any alliances in the future, Mr. Paulino Joao said that it might do so with any other party except the MPLA and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], because their programs and aims were very different.

Asked about the CND's future, should it fail to secure definitive registration with the People's Supreme Tribunal within the next six months, Mr. Paulino Joao said the CND will be a party, whether or not it is registered with that institution.

Mr. Paulino Joao closed the news conference by saying that the CND is open to all opinions and its political line will be defined on the basis of consensus.

*** UNITA Chief of Staff on Peace Accord**

*91AF1161A Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA
(Second Section Supplement) in Portuguese
26 May 91 pp 1, 3*

[Interview with General Arlindo Pena Ben Ben, UNITA's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola chief of General Staff, by Aguiar dos Santos in Luena: "Coming Together Again Will Be Easy"; date not given]

[Text] "Mistrust is a natural feeling for individuals who have fought each other for a long time." This conclusion was voiced by General Arlindo Pena (Ben Ben), the man who commanded the last UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] offensive against Luena. At the age of 35, the nephew of Jonas Savimbi has an air of astuteness, and his words flow easily. It would not be a forced analogy to conclude that his arguments, his mystique, and his faith in the future faithfully imitate those of the omnipresent and beloved president, the revered commander in chief of the FALA [Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola], as the eternally faithful, the men for whom, above all, "to fight is to mistrust," say of him.

He does not deny that his men, like those on the other side, are exhausted after 16 years of uninterrupted war. While the future and its developments cannot be foreseen, this is no justification for defeatism now. "If the desire is to see their families, they (the UNITA personnel) will see their families, and can cast their votes for UNITA." He does not say who these men are, how many they are, or where they are. His message for its part is a stunning one. "I believe that all of the personnel of UNITA, and even the people who live in the cities, are waiting for its arrival in the cities so that they can vote for UNITA, which they could not do before." Since there is no beauty without a blemish, there is in General Ben Ben a dash of sincerity: "It is natural that in these 16 years of war, there have been phenomena which only the war itself can explain. Sometimes they even go against the desire for liberation, but there are things which occur during such a space of time." And he pronounces the final verdict. "But the people will judge!"

A talker, he does not avoid unpleasant questions. On the subject of the alliance with South Africa, he is among those who say that UNITA has not received any military aid since 1988. Claiming that he has no knowledge of the presence of South African personnel in Jamba, he admits, finally, that "they have links with the UNITA Ministry of Foreign Affairs." In speaking about the United States, his tone is similar. He acknowledges that "the Americans relied on the fact that their support of UNITA would lead it into discussions with the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]." And he does not dismiss the possibility that the traditional allies "might move forward in the electoral campaign with support from this or that sector."

He denies that the offensive against Luena was designed to occupy the city, which contradicts the position adopted by the command of the East Front of the FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola], and believes in the irreversibility of peace. In his view, "coming together

again will be easy," and he is prepared to embrace his counterpart on the other side, General Franca Ndalu, at the earliest opportunity.

[dos Santos] General Ben Ben, did this UNITA offensive against Luena achieve the desired goals? What were they?

[Pena] I think it did. We wanted to prevent Luena from serving any longer as a base of support for the offensives repeatedly directed against our internal lines.

[dos Santos] In any case, it is being said on the government side that the goal was to occupy Luena.

[Pena] No. Even within our philosophy of guerrilla war, it is not our goal to control large cities. We do not have the necessary defense capacity against attacks from the air, etc. We have established some positions during these 16 years, but they are small ones, ones which we were able to defend. Moreover, in connection with Luena, we have said that we achieved our goals, because the FAPLA failed to occupy the positions which might have worried UNITA, above all with a view to negotiating as it has done.

[dos Santos] What positions were these?

[Pena] Imagine, for example, that while steps were being taken in the direction of peace, negotiations, etc., there had been advances designed to take Tchicala, Cangumbe, Munhango, Cuemba, as our areas. Quite naturally, our delegation would have found it much more complex to reach the agreement evidenced by the present understanding and flexibility.

[dos Santos] If UNITA were to take Luena, would it not appear to be in a position of strength, and might this not make the negotiations in Estoril difficult?

[Pena] I understood this, and later acted on it. And as we also had no intention of taking Luena, we knew at that point that we were meeting the opposition halfway.

[dos Santos] What impression of Colonel Higino remains with you after your meeting with him, and what steps have been taken to follow it up?

[Pena] Well, many steps have been taken. This was the first meeting. It was a very cordial one, and I found the colonel easy to understand. He set forth his views, we asked him to meet us halfway, and he immediately agreed.

We spent two hours talking, and then we decided that the two delegations should join together in a military commission. This was agreed. I believe that he immediately informed his commander in chief, and I also informed mine. They reached an agreement, and then we took practical steps—appointing a subcommission, specifically in Luena, and planning later meetings. The establishment of communications channels will make it possible for us to broaden these commissions, as is the case with Caculama, Waco Kungo. We even want to go a little further, as in the case with Huambo, Lobito, where there is a great degree of rapprochement.

We want these commissions to be on the level needed to ensure an understanding, in order to be able to resolve small conflicts, to develop better coexistence, and to attempt—

mistrust is a very natural feeling in individuals who have fought each other for a long time—to control the movement of vehicles. We need to see what they are carrying, if it is only food, or only medicines, or supplies which may benefit the people, or if equipment is being transported. At this point, these commissions will take charge of checking on these movements.

[dos Santos] Do you confirm the claim that UNITA suffered 250 casualties in the attack on Luena?

[Pena] No. Above all because we had no very frequent clashes or military encounters. What we did was gain control of areas allowing us to put artillery weapons in place and to reach the airport—certain positions which we knew would give access to the airport.

[dos Santos] But did you go so far as to break through the city's defensive lines?

[Pena] There were no very extensive defensive lines destroyed by us. There were penetrations, penetration battles. There were no frontal defensive lines, but lines to defend against penetration. We broke through some of these.

[dos Santos] Are these figures exaggerated? Are they well in excess of the real numbers?

[Pena] Absolutely! Up until the last count we took, we had suffered 53 casualties, barring error, with 153 wounded. This was more because of retaliation from the air. This is the military aspect. There were also, to a greater extent, a number killed and wounded among the population. Above all, because of the aircraft. For when the planes come, we of course were camouflaged, but the hamlets, the neighborhoods, were exposed, and for this reason they suffered much more.

[dos Santos] Dr. Savimbi was in Brussels when he said he would give immediate orders to his commanders to halt the battles. Were they immediately heeded?

[Pena] Absolutely. At the time, as chief of the general staff, I received the orders from the highest commander directly, and apart from my duty to carry out these orders, I had been in constant contact with the other commanders so that we could observe the cease-fire.

[dos Santos] Have you knowledge of any incidents in any region of the country since 15 May?

[Pena] None on our side since the 14th. Since that day, there has been no incident in which our side was voluntarily involved. I cannot confirm that there has been any incident willingly provoked by the other side. From everything I learned after talking with Colonel Higino, the few incidents which developed were merely a matter of small movements, lack of knowledge of one side or the other, or simply on one side, resulting in small exchanges of fire on a minor scale. But after some time, in particular because we found that there was a certain lag in communications—after 48 hours we confirmed that the other units had received the order to cease hostilities. As of this point, we are meeting, the

commission is fully operational, the subcommissions are developing, and we think that the atmosphere is coming along well.

[dos Santos] Will these subcommissions remain operational after the signing of the cease-fire on the 31st?

[Pena] During the meeting I had with Colonel Higino, he told me that he had been in touch with the commander in chief in Luanda, and he was told that this commission could serve until the 15th, at which time the international mechanisms for practical verification would be in the field. In this connection, I think that their service may be extended beyond the 31st, and what we can do as soon as the international mechanism is in the field is cooperate. I see this principle as a way for us to fill the vacuum between the cessation of hostilities and the effective implementation of the cease-fire itself, which will be signed on 31 May.

[dos Santos] I would like to change the subject. There are those who say that UNITA has between 70,000 and 80,000 troops, while only 20,000 of your men will be needed to make up the single national army. What will be done with the rest of the personnel?

[Pena] I believe that in the discussions during the meetings of the two delegations in Luanda, they succeeded in establishing the exact figures for each party, and these are the numbers which correspond to the real situation. Concerning the troop figures which were supplied earlier, I can agree that those made available by the MPLA may be accurate. This is a regular army. However, a guerrilla army such as ours has to make an impression, and to do this it often even uses propaganda measure. And for this reason we had to give accurate figures. This is not consistent with the guerrilla philosophy, as such.

[dos Santos] In any case, it was not agreed that you will make 20,000 men available....

[Pena] Well, I have not been fully informed....

[dos Santos] Will you too be in Luanda on 1 July—the date on which Dr. Savimbi has promised to arrive in the capital of the country?

[Pena] I would like very much to be there. If possible, this would be the ideal thing. Both because of the channels we are going to open up and because of the trust we are going to build, I think that everything is possible.

[dos Santos] Do you share the view that a great scattering of the FALA personnel might also lead to political demobilization?

[Pena] No. Would this political demobilization work to the detriment of the electoral campaign?

[dos Santos] Could the votes of the UNITA electorate be scattered?

[Pena] I think not!

[dos Santos] This is based on the following reasoning. Both sides are tired of the war, the soldiers have not seen their families for many years, and they have not visited their

native regions. Therefore, might not demobilization be carried out very rapidly disperse people?

[Pena] No. If their desire is to see their families, they will see their families, and they can cast their votes for UNITA. I want it understood that the majority of the personnel who stayed with UNITA in the brush came to make their contribution in the resistance struggle. Now they see that the doors are open, the signal has been given. We are struggling so that there will be peace, and during the years of war there were many more difficulties. Now that it is possible for the people to return—it is not at this point that they will scatter. Naturally, each one will have the pleasure of seeing the goals for which he has fought throughout these years achieved. I think that all of the personnel of UNITA, and even the people who live in the cities, are waiting for its arrival the cities, so that they can vote for UNITA, which they could not do previously.

[dos Santos] Isn't UNITA afraid that the transition period will be prolonged precisely because of this demobilization?

[Pena] No. The basic justification was a practical one, and the difference was one of only three months. But our reason was a practical one. In the month of September, the rural sectors are heavily involved in farming, and there are also some zones in which it rains heavily. At this stage, and as we know that in terms of mobilization, we have greater influence in the rural areas, if it were to rain, or if there were no trucks, or if they could not get through to these zones, naturally there would be a threat to the voting districts. The people would not be able to move. This was our greatest concern. But this does not mean that if the period were extended, it would be a reason for a decline in the motivation of UNITA.

[dos Santos] Does UNITA definitively want the legislative elections first? Is this already a settled point?

[Pena] In principle, the discussion was intended to be about simultaneous elections. But there is a factor which has now been raised so that the emerging parties can also voice their opinions.

[dos Santos] You are also a member of the Political Bureau of UNITA, and I would like to ask you the following question. There are those who say that one of the weaknesses the MPLA will have to deal with is the problem of corruption. Doesn't UNITA also have some weak point, in terms of the electoral campaign?

[Pena] I think that in the campaign itself, the MPLA will bring up certain points, and it has already brought up some. But it is the people who are going to say what our weak points are! And it will also be the people who say what the weak points of the MPLA are. What we want is a challenge, to go before the people, so that they can say that during this period, UNITA did X or Y. In this system of open, free elections, etc., the people will be able to express themselves freely, and I think that things will be weighed mainly when we come to judging the two parties.

Whether or not UNITA has weak points, it is natural that during the 16 years of war, there have been phenomena which only the war itself can explain. Sometimes even going

against the desire for liberation, the resistance. But there are things which occur during such a period of time. But the people will judge!

[dos Santos] The Angolan Democratic Forum, which some people say is made up of UNITA dissidents, has repeatedly and frequently come out in support of Wilson dos Santos and Tito Chingunji. What is their status at this time?

[Pena] I do not know. This is a party about which we are hearing now; I have heard about it on the radio stations. I do not know of any member who is a UNITA dissident.

[dos Santos] One of its leaders is Jorge Chicote....

[Pena] This Chicote never even fought with us, and therefore I do not know him. I heard of him when he was a teacher at a secondary school in Huambo.

At that point, he had returned as a refugee from Zambia. In all of that time, at least in the area in which I was able to move, I did not know him, and I never saw him there in the bush. All I know is that he was later the recipient of a UNITA scholarship in the Ivory Coast. But as to whether he ever really had been a member or an active militant in UNITA—about this I have no knowledge.

[dos Santos] And why are they campaigning for Chingunji and Wilson dos Santos?

[Pena] I do not know. Every time this problem was discussed, when there was talk of Wilson dos Santos and Tito Chingunji, they were presented, and the problem was bypassed. I could even speculate that there might be family relations, or even certain motivations the basis of which I do not know.

But to bring up this problem, and to think perhaps that it represents a worry for UNITA—that it is not.

[dos Santos] How old are you, and how many years have you been with UNITA?

[Pena] I am 35. I joined UNITA at 19. I was a student.

[dos Santos] Where did you join?

[Pena] In Huambo. And when the situation forced us to abandon the cities, we did so, and now today we are here. For this reason we have a strong desire to return to the cities.

[dos Santos] Have you had news of your family?

[Pena] On occasion. But part of my family is with me.

[dos Santos] How does a man who has fought since the age of 19 feel in this final stage of the war, with the guns falling silent? What is your present state of mind?

[Pena] One must not overlook the feeling of mistrust. One of the things we developed during these 16 years is distrust. It is necessary to be able to advance with great courage, but always with suspicion. This openness, this rapprochement, creates in me personally a feeling of faith, of great hope, because our desire is to see this Angola advance with the other African countries, so that we can draw certain parallels, whatever the economic difficulties or social problems may be, so that things will move ahead and there will be no war. For us, the end of the war means the prosperity which

is the future, so that Angolans of the North, the South, etc., can talk together. This first of all. Even in the leadership of the MPLA itself, there are individuals who went to school with us. When I met with Colonel Higino, I asked him about certain schoolmates.

From what I have learned, from various information sources, there are many FAPLA commanders who were schoolmates of comrades who are here. I even think that despite all of the mistrust which may arise on the part of the FAPLA or the MPLA, when we sit down together tomorrow and talk, someone will say that I studied in this school, or my father was so and so, and we will recognize each other. For this reason, coming together again will be easy. Above all because there is understanding, because I think that the desires of the young people on this side correspond to the desires of the young people on the other.

[dos Santos] You are very young to hold the post you do, at the age of only 35. Will you be one of the UNITA personnel who will join the single national army?

[Pena] I do not know. Everything will depend on the establishment of the mechanisms, etc. If UNITA thinks that I should continue in the army, at that point we will continue. But our goal is to find the best way to be productive, in the best position, to rebuild Angola. If I were to be called upon tomorrow to serve in the police, or in any post whatsoever, I think that I would make the best contribution I could.

[dos Santos] Won't the UNITA experience difficulties in adapting to political struggle in this transition from a military to a political force?

[Pena] I think not. During these 16 years, the greatest effort was political—to mobilize the popular masses so that they would understand the reasons for our battle, supply us with food, provide us with troops, new recruits, give us information—all of this was a mobilization effort. Guerrilla warfare is essentially political. Therefore I think that the transition in this phase will not be very difficult.

[dos Santos] How long have you served as chief of the general staff of the FALA? Did you command your men with an iron fist? Was iron discipline necessary to sustain the resistance?

[Pena] For four years. You see, there was General Demostenes, before me—he held the post a little earlier. Then he was replaced by the late Chendovava, and I came after that. It was very easy for me. We had always worked with the general staff, participating in every effort, and because we were already familiar with the troops, no more complicated organization than the others had achieved was necessary. All that was needed was to carry on.

[dos Santos] I am told that the Angolan government has decided to withdraw the Cuban troops a month before the deadline. As chief of the general staff on the other side, is this of some importance to you?

[Pena] For us, this is a positive sign. I think that with this openness, in addition to the talks in Estoril—all that was even needed was for William Tonet to come here and for us to know that he was in Luena, and it was easy. If they are

going to withdraw early, this is positive, and it will even serve as a catalyst for the meetings, the movements, and the talks.

[dos Santos] One other question. Do you, at this time, have some links with South Africa? Are South African counter-intelligence instructors making some contribution, for example?

[Pena] No. I would even say that on the general staff level, South Africa has had no links with the general staff since 22 December, the date stipulated in the four-party agreements. There has been talk about 12 South Africans in Jamba....

[dos Santos] I went there, because it was Neil Van Heerden, the general director of the South African Ministry of Foreign Affairs who said that in Luanda. He stated that there are 10 or 12 South Africans in the telecommunications sector....

[Pena] Yes, they are connected with the UNITA Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Jamba. However, the general staff has nothing to do with it, nor do I have any knowledge about their presence. It is natural that they should have a connection with foreign affairs.

[dos Santos] Since you are a member of the Political Bureau of UNITA, I will take the opportunity to ask you if you believe that full North American support will continue? Might there develop a complex of forces in Angola with which the North Americans might have a certain sympathy, so as to support them in the first free elections to be held in the country?

[Pena] I think that the Americans relied on the fact that their support of UNITA would lead it into discussions with the MPLA, and also with a view to peace, democracy, and then the elections. This is the way in which the Americans would like to see Angola. In this connection, it is of no interest to the Americans, in my opinion, for anyone to continue to benefit from their aid, except insofar as everyone contributes to democracy.

Which means that the Americans will not provide anyone with aid any longer in terms of war equipment. They may say well, we have brought UNITA to this point, we will not provide equipment, but rather an opportunity for UNITA to advance in its electoral campaign with this or that support. And I have even heard talk of making \$20 million available, not only to UNITA, but to anyone who wants it. Go there, ask, and the Americans are open to requests.

[dos Santos] What feeling prevails among the leaders of UNITA? We have fought for 16 years, we have resisted, we have won the war?

[Pena] We also have the feeling that we achieved our goals, which means that we achieved peace, we achieved democracy—what was denied us after Alvor. We are all eager for the electoral campaign, and then elections in which the people will determine who it is with whom they want to advance. In that 1975 and 1976 period, we had that desire. But it was not possible. Setbacks occurred here and there, and we went into the bush. But now that the language we are hearing is the same, we believe that our goals were achieved.

[dos Santos] Might the news that we have just been given about the death of General Kanjodo and Colonel Adalberto Epalanga threaten the good relationship which has existed thus far with the FAPLA?

[Pena] I was in touch with our high commander, and he reassured me, because I remain in touch with the higher officers in the general staff of the FAPLA, and he asked me to inform them that this will not in any way affect the peace process under way.

[dos Santos] Was the mine which killed your comrades placed by one of the parties during the last offensive? What evidence do you have about this?

[Pena] This happened well to the rear of our base, at a site we had used for a long time, but we never had any incidents of this kind. That is the existing situation.

[dos Santos] Speaking precisely of mines, what steps are going to be taken by the two parties to remove the mines from all of the areas?

[Pena] In the specific case of Luena, the subcommission appointed is already planning to call upon technicians from the FAPLA and the FALA. They will be combined in work groups to remove the mines from certain areas. I have been told that they will begin with the route linking Luena with Leua, and then that leading from the city to Samafo.

[dos Santos] In fact, the mines are a serious problem, not only for the population, but even for the troops on both sides.

[Pena] Indeed, very serious. I would even say more. The commission even intends to proceed along the Benguela Railroad. We are studying a program which we will then submit to the other part of the commission concerning the railroad and how it can begin to provide direct service to Huambo, to Bie, for example.

[dos Santos] General, I have no more questions for you. Do you wish to add something which may unwittingly have been omitted?

[Pena] Well, I feel that this meeting we had on the top level with Colonel Higino was made possible by William Tonet, who is a journalist, and above all an Angolan. It was because of his feeling that he wanted to do something. As I am convinced that this is the beginning of a great openness, and from what I am reading, the development of the contacts since we met, the understanding—I think that you, as well, as journalists, who have an honest duty to explain what is happening, should view your reporting as something which helps both sides to progress at this stage.

[dos Santos] Has Vorgan now ceased his attacks on President Jose Eduardo dos Santos?

[Pena] He has. When President Savimbi returned to the country, he gave orders to Vorgan himself, and they were even published, telling him to stop immediately. And I also have confirmation from Colonel Higino that the pejorative statements stopped.

[dos Santos] Would you like to take this opportunity, through our newspaper, to send a message to your counterpart, General Franca Ndalu?

[Pena] Well, I believe that what we are discussing with Colonel Higino—I think that he has been a faithful communicator of our feelings. We are open, we are ready, and above all we want to advance honestly in this process. I believe that General Ndalu will also be in touch with our delegation in Portugal, and, naturally, he understands today, better than before, who UNITA represents. Among other things, because one of the things I remember is a speech he made at an Assembly of the People, which I interpreted as that of an individual with a willingness for dialogue.

[dos Santos] Would you be ready to embrace him at the first opportunity?

[Pena] Oh, certainly!

[dos Santos] I overlooked an important question. What was it that required you to involve the chief of the general staff of the FALA and three other generals in this attack on Luena?

[Pena] From our intelligence, we learned that the most critical axis which might affect the negotiations was this one, among other things because there were also concentrations in Bie, so that from Bie and Camacupa, it would be possible to attack Kwanza and seize the railroad line. But because of the concentration of troops there, we thought that this axis might prove a threat, and so all of the efforts were then oriented along that line.

[dos Santos] Will you remain here after President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Jonas Savimbi sign the cease-fire agreement?

[Pena] I do not think so. At that stage, there will be programs to which we will be assigned, and we may receive new orders. [passage omitted]

* Situation in Luena Under Attack Described

91AF1145B Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA
(Second Section Supplement) in Portuguese
19 May 91 p 1

[Article by Jose Frago]so]

[Text] "It makes no sense to die on the last day of the war," a woman who had sought refuge at the headquarters of the National Bank of Angola in Luena, in the province of Moxico, told this reporter. She fled from there after the artillery bombardment of the city by UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] started at the beginning of the month of April.

On Tuesday, when we arrived in the city, combat had been under way for 44 days. All over the city, the impact of the cannon and mortar shells had opened up holes in the streets, collapsed entire buildings, and caused the mass exodus of the civilian population toward the central zone of Luena, where the construction of the buildings made them more resistant to the violent effects of the shelling.

Almost all of the outlying areas of the city were abandoned. Some buildings with the capacity for not much more than 10 or so families had sheltered more than 2,000 persons throughout all of this time. People were packed into the hallways, inner courtyards, bedrooms, and stairways.

Dozens of children, lying wrapped in blankets everywhere, some of them crying, others nursing, gazed at the foreign journalists wide-eyed, surprised by the visit and frightened by the camera flashes.

According to information provided by FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola], UNITA launched an attack on Luena on 1 April, with the intention of taking over the capital of the province of Moxico, an area in the eastern part of Angola more than a thousand kilometers from the capital city in which Jonas Savimbi's organization has always demonstrated its military presence. This "great UNITA offensive," as it was described by Colonel Manuel Fonseca ("Neco"), was characterized by four particularly intensive periods—from 1 to 4 April, from 14 to 18 April, from 26 to 30 April, and from 5 to 15 May.

The figures available indicate that more than 350 civilians were killed, along with 300 UNITA soldiers and about 100 FAPLA personnel. But the actual figures may be higher, in view of the fact that the area surrounding Luena, which was also pounded by fire, is difficult to check statistically. Many individuals who were killed were immediately buried without any notification of the authorities.

Awaiting the Cease-Fire

The night we spent in Luena had been eagerly awaited, since the signal for peace was to be given at midnight (zero hours on the 15th), at which time combat was to be suspended by both parties.

"We will only respond with gunfire if we are attacked," the FAPLA officers said unanimously. "At the zero hour, all of the UNITA combatants in all the trenches will cease their fire," UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi said in an interview which was broadcast repeatedly over Radio Voz do Galo Negro [Voice of the Black Rooster Radio]. Despite the peace promises made by both sides, no resident of Luena was confident that hostilities would cease. "This will continue." "The UNITA will not stop firing." "One cannot trust Savimbi." These were some of the comments most frequently heard from the city's residents. Their mistrust was increased early in the evening by a number of artillery volleys, which caused an immediate reaction of widespread panic among all the people seeking shelter. It should be noted that throughout these days of battle, the soldiers and the residents dug trenches everywhere in the city, creating narrow ditches all along the streets, and bags of sand were piled at the entrances to buildings, into which the people dashed as soon as they heard the whistle of the projectiles.

The journalists visiting the city spent the night in the National Bank of Angola building, the structure regarded as safest by the military because it is heavily reinforced. As the night progressed, the expectations with regard to the end of the fighting increased as well. Hopes were seriously dashed 3 minutes before midnight, when the city was shaken by five

more explosions. Two of the shells fell a few score meters from the bank, so that we could very clearly hear the whistle of the projectiles, their impact on striking the ground, and the shattering of glass all around us. The following day, it was learned that a woman and two children were killed.

Although UNITA has consistently denied the attacks on Luena, stating that it was only consolidating its positions in the field and defending itself against the aerial attacks by the MPLA, the signs of artillery bombardment and the number of wounded people in the city hospital bear witness to the violence of the battles.

Pedro Carvalho, one of the doctors in charge at the Luena Hospital, showed us around the medical center, which was also struck by various cannon and mortar shells. "We have had to improvise treatment for the wounded and to ration food, because our reserves are running out," the doctor explained.

Stressing the absence of analgesics and antibiotics, Pedro Carvalho escorted the journalists to room after room crowded with the wounded, who were lying on the floor side by side. A veritable descent into hell.

In a large ward containing more than 30 persons injured by shrapnel, a number of nurses were changing bandages. "This is a terrible time," the doctor said by way of explanation for the piercing shouts which could be heard in the ward.

In the middle of the room lay a naked young man with a tremendous hole in his right shin, where the bone was entirely exposed. He wept and shouted each time the nurse touched him with a bandage soaked in disinfectant.

In another ward, a man who appeared to be about 40 had gaping wounds on both thighs, where the flesh had been ripped open by a shell fragment. In the children's section of the hospital, a mother was holding a three-year old boy both of whose hands were bandaged.

"He too was wounded by shrapnel. First of all, we thought we would have to amputate both hands, but then we managed to repair one. We had to amputate the other." Throughout the past month and a half, the hospital doctors had been performing three surgical operations per day, and about seven surgical cleansings.

The doctors as well spoke of the unreliability of their statistics on the total number of wounded (more than 2,500) reported, because of the number of individuals who did not go to the hospital, and also the wounded who were abandoned in the brush during the battles.

On Wednesday morning, for example, a woman who was going to a well near the Luena River Bridge for water stepped on a mine and fell lifeless on the ground. This occurs frequently, according to the military. "Often, the people ignore our advice, and in the end they lose their lives in situations like this," a FAPLA officer said.

In this instance, the woman had taken only half a dozen steps away from the road, but this proved far enough to cause her death. "The mines are located everywhere. We come and we place mines, and the UNITA personnel place theirs. No one knows for certain exactly where they all are."

For this reason, the FAPLA officer concluded, "one step off the road means certain death."

The woman's body, which was torn apart by the explosion, lay where it was for several hours until the mine experts came to direct the operation of retrieving the corpse.

Teachers Worried

From midday on the 15th to the time of this writing (1830 on the 16th), there were no more shots fired in Luena, indicating acceptance of the cease-fire. A return to normalcy should be possible within the next few days, although the distance separating the UNITA troops from those of the MPLA, about 14 km, has not contributed to creating confidence among the people.

Yolanda, a 35 year old Bulgarian teacher who teaches French in the city of Luena, is pessimistic as she awaits the return of the students in the city to their schools after the suspension of classes at the beginning of the combat. "It will be difficult to reorganize the school year. Some children have been wounded, many were killed, and others have fled. It will be very difficult to get them all together. And then too, there are the schools damaged by the shells," she explained. "And in addition to that, the oldest students were recruited for the army and have gone to fight." Yolanda is a member of a small Bulgarian community with 36 members (six children, 17 women, and 13 men), all doctors or teachers who work in Luena.

The beginning of the cease-fire is viewed with mistrust on both sides, with both UNITA and the MPLA reporting violations as of the very first day. Despite everything, the aggressive language on the radio was modified in tone yesterday, and the possibility of peace seems to be gaining some force in the thinking of the Angolan people. It is known, however, that this is an extremely complex situation, due to the hatred which has accumulated throughout the 16 years of fighting. Any minor action could trigger a new escalation of the clashes, in particular prior to the formal signing of the agreements in Lisbon at the end of the month.

* Minister Notes Huila Rural Development Plans

91AF1133A Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 12 May 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Isaac dos Anjos, minister of agriculture and rural development, by Leonel Kassama and Miguel Filipe: "Agriculture Minister Says It Makes No Sense To Import Meat While Our Cattle Are Ending Up in Namibia"; place and date not given; first four paragraphs are JORNAL DE ANGOLA introduction]

[Text]

Beef Escapes to Namibia

"It is ridiculous for us to continue to import meat while our cattle continue to emigrate to Namibia." The person raising this objection was the engineer Isaac dos Anjos, minister of agriculture and rural development, in an interview granted to our bureau in Huila.

Isaac dos Anjos advocates changing the terms of trade in the southern part of the country, with the aim of reversing this trend. He believes that these changes will not make trade across the border impracticable.

In the opinion of the agriculture minister, the problems of his sector have not always been fully understood, with the result that their solution has been impeded. "Some people," he said, "find it easier to import meat than to invest in our agriculture."

Isaac dos Anjos also spoke of the projects to benefit the Huila region that will be financed by France's Central Fund for Economic Cooperation [CCCE] and the Bank of Spain.

The engineer Isaac dos Anjos, Angolan minister of agriculture and rural development, says his sector is being "wrongfully accused" because of a capital investment made in 1978 that ended in failure.

In an interview granted to the JORNAL DE ANGOLA and graciously sponsored by the distinguished Huila Pao restaurant, the current "occupant" of the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development emphasized that the investment in question was merely an attempt to respond to an existing political option.

"If we continue to make an issue of an investment made in 1978-79," he said, "we are penalizing a sector that ever since 1984 has had to subsist exclusively on foreign projects and grants."

Agriculture accounts for only 2.5 percent of Angola's GDP [gross domestic product]. "No country in the world with these extremely low figures can be developed," Isaac dos Anjos declared.

A project valued at around \$6 million was rendered useless for the lack of "a modest \$250,000" for the purchase of spare parts, the minister emphasized.

[JORNAL DE ANGOLA] What are the current overall objectives of your ministry?

[Dos Anjos] In principle, our overall objectives are unalterable. We continue to regard the traditional sector of agriculture as the principal sector, and we are devoting very special attention to it.

From now on, to a much greater extent than in the past, this special attention is going to be intensified, because in the light of all these prospects for peace the traditional sector will require a very great effort on the part of the government to enable us to continue to improve rural life.

On the other hand, we cannot neglect the emerging entrepreneurial sector, which must be supported in order that Angolan agriculture may be transformed from its present subsistence phase into a market agriculture. These will be our overall objectives.

[JORNAL DE ANGOLA] This will involve additional financing for the projects. What were the results of the efforts to obtain financing of the second phase of the "Caisse" [CCCE] project?

[Dos Anjos] In Huila we have projects that are continuing, and we have just finished discussing the second phase of the Huila project—which is financed by the CCCE—and as a consequence the additional sums have been granted for continuation of this second phase. Lines of credit have also been opened for restoration of the Chibia canal and for completion of the Neves Dam project.

We are also discussing the possibility of assistance for the municipality of Matala. We are considering with the Spanish Government the possibility of obtaining some silos for installation along the Lubango-Caconda-Caala-Quilengues axis.

All this takes time, and with the one exception (the Caisse project) all the other projects will begin to show concrete and practical results, but perhaps not until October or November of this year.

One must look at the other aspect of the question, however: when people and goods cannot be moved freely by land, we have to move them by sea. This constitutes a challenge for the nation, for the truth is that if our country has cattle, it makes no sense for our meat to be consumed by the Namibians while we have to eat imported meat.

This is also a cultural and political question, for many people believe it is much easier to import meat, whereas a little more work is required if we are going to consume our domestic product.

[JORNAL DE ANGOLA] The Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development is accused of consuming large amounts of investment capital without obtaining any results. Can you comment on this?

[Dos Anjos] I do not, nor could I, share that opinion. The ministry is wrongfully accused because of a capital investment made in 1978-79. The investment was an attempt to respond to a political option that existed at the time. It was made in 1978-79. In other words, even the useful life of the investment has probably ended by now.

Consequently, far from imagining that we are currently making some investment in agriculture, we in fact have yet to make an investment that is truly adequate.

Some projects involving large investments that were made did not produce great benefits, for a number of reasons. For example, an area such as the Quikuxi perimeter—which possesses irrigation technology that can be described as advanced—cannot reconcile itself to the lack of a modest \$250,000. For a project such as this, \$250,000 can be regarded as a modest sum.

Under an administrative system such as the one we had heretofore, a perimeteric area such as this cannot survive. As a consequence, a project valued at approximately \$6 million remains useless because components and spare parts were not acquired in timely fashion. This is an integrated problem of economics.

[JORNAL DE ANGOLA] Do you feel good being minister of agriculture—and a young man—in a country where people are dying of hunger?

[Dos Anjos] Permit me not to agree that all that many people are starving. The problems exist to a much greater extent in the urban centers than in the municipalities. Ask the Red Cross and Social Affairs.

There are a number of products that we must begin to utilize. Squash, *matira*, cassava, *lombi*, and *quizaca* are genuinely basic products that have always been eaten by the majority of our people, who have been experiencing serious difficulties.

The death rate is much higher among the refugee population, when the emergency aid fails to arrive and hunger combines forces with the diseases that have been contracted.

For this reason, dear sir, allow me to say that I disagree with much of what you are saying. Moreover, most of Angola's population is rural and has always worked for its own subsistence.

With regard to the announcement we made several days ago in Benguela, I can now announce the symbolic reception, in the near future, of the initial results of this injection of financial resources in the form of foreign exchange into our domestic agricultural supply industry.

[JORNAL DE ANGOLA] Can you comment on private enterprise in the agricultural sector?

[Dos Anjos] The process has not yet been completed. Production units have been privatized, but the government still possesses some units of small and mid-size enterprises which have not been transferred despite the fact that they are located in provincial areas.

Moreover, our credit mechanisms are not yet fully in operation. There are enterprises in which the state will always maintain a measure of cofinancing, and we are setting up some trading companies in which the state retains a share of ownership so that individual citizens can come to them and supply themselves.

[JORNAL DE ANGOLA] Mr. Minister, what is your solution for controlling the exodus of cattle to Namibia? From what I have been able to see, the unfavorable trade between the government and cattle raisers is causing this situation. A head of cattle sells in Namibia for around 300 rands....

[Dos Anjos] I believe that the border trade will always be a problem requiring a solution. There is no doubt that something must be done to control the unbalanced trade in cattle that is going on in the southern part of our country.

The minister of trade, the governor of the National Bank, the governor of Cunene Province, and I all have signed a binding protocol in which we grant foreign exchange resources to the province. This protocol makes it mandatory to conclude a contract for the importation of products in connection with the marketing of cattle, and we shall now wait to see if the province comes up with any results.

* Luanda Interurban Transportation Improving

91AF1133B Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 11 May 91 pp 1, 2

[Article by Messias Constantino]

[Text] The TCUL [Luanda Urban Public Transportation] will soon put into operation the first 48 buses of a fleet of 165 imported by Abamat. At that time the TCUL plans to inaugurate new lines to "Rocha Pinto," Cacuo, and an interurban express.

Meanwhile, until such time as the TCUL buses are released by Customs, the private taxi drivers have been playing games with their fares. A one-way trip by taxi now costs around 250 new kwanzas.

The pages of the Luanda local news section also contain the usual offerings by our columnists. Mac Mahon tells us the history of the caiman, and Tony Cosean brings up a problem: he wants a place to park his car.

Lastly, Joao Ligio asks a provocative question: "Can you guess who is coming to dinner?"

A Line to "Rocha Pinto" and an Interurban "Express"

A consignment of 65 conventional 60-passenger buses (Volvo-358's and Daf-MB200's and 201's) of the total of 148 buses that Abamat is going to import have already arrived in Angola. These buses will reinforce not only the TCUL fleet but also the fleet of the provinces of Benguela, Huila, Huambo, Malanje, and Namibe.

Abamat General Manager Antonio Mendes, who disclosed this information to the JORNAL DE ANGOLA, explained that the government intends to give priority attention to the public transportation of passengers and freight.

Antonio Mendes said that the transaction was financed by the Equator Bank but did not disclose the sum made available by that international banking institution.

In the opinion of TCUL General Manager Jose de Carvalho, however, the arrival of these—and other—consignments will make it possible to overcome some of the many difficulties faced by the enterprise and to improve the services provided to the residents of Luanda.

The TCUL official made a point of announcing that the restructuring and opening of several lines will take place during the first half of this year, together with inauguration of the "Express" service, which will consist of routes described as "connector lines linking various bus stops in the city."

The TCUL general manager also stated that extending the schedule—independently of the question of discontinuing the mandatory return of the buses to the bus garage—"is not now practicable," because, as he emphasized, aside from the problem of the "lack of public safety and illumination," it

would oblige the enterprise to hire more personnel and create a third shift. "It is not an easy task," he explained, but indicated that such a step could be taken on those lines where "we have assurances" regarding these two factors. "The TCUL," he said, "is not neglecting this situation. Certain considerations make it advisable for us to study the matter," he emphasized.

According to Manzapa Daniel Afonso, head of the traffic department, some of the TC's routes operate from 0610 to 2030, while other routes operate until 2200. "The buses do not operate beyond that time," he explained, "for considerations relating not only to safety but also to illumination and the poor condition of the roads and streets."

TCUL General Manager Jose de Carvalho also acknowledged the possibility that the TCUL would begin operating on the "Rocha Pinto" line in an effort to satisfy the concerns of the residents of that area. He said that a similar step might be taken with respect to the workers who live the Ministry of Agriculture's residential complex in the municipality of Cacucaco. "Although these are matters currently under study," he pointed out, "we believe that with the support of the governmental organs in these municipalities we shall be able to go forward with the program."

Jose de Carvalho concluded by inviting the various governmental entities—and in particular the government of Luanda Province—to participate in the "struggle." He laid great stress on the point that even though his sector does have many resources, "illumination, public safety, and good roads and streets" are absolutely essential, "inasmuch as we are committed to intensifying our efforts in behalf of the public."

According to the TCUL general manager, the date the new buses are placed in service depends on Abamat's distribution plan and on certain "adjustments" that will be necessary to meet the specific requirements of their public use.

*** Lack of Electricity Paralyzes Sumbe City**

91AF1133C Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 10 May 91 p 2

[Interview with Jose Antonio Sabino, manager of the National Electricity Company (ENE), by Joca Luandense at ENE offices in Sumbe; "Sumbe: A Ghost City"; date not given]

[Text] People who arrive in Sumbe get the impression that they are entering a ghost city. It is in complete darkness; there are no lights. Housewives are unable to buy refreshments with their provisions. You cannot hear the newscasts. And finally, electric household appliances do not work.

To inform ourselves about this situation, we went to the ENE [National Electricity Company] to see Jose Antonio Sabino, with whom we had a friendly chat.

[Luandense] Comrade Director, can you tell us the reason for the absence of electricity in the city—an absence that is now becoming chronic?

[Sabino] What happened was that the Cummins generator group—the only one in the distribution section—broke down.

[Luandense] What do you plan to do to remedy this situation?

[Sabino] I should like to say this: the paralyzation of the group was caused by the lack of spare parts that we ordered a long time ago, but for reasons unknown to us this equipment has not yet arrived.

However, the General Directorate of the ENE took the situation in Kuanza Sul to heart and imported two 1,800 kilovolt groups that are already in Luanda awaiting authorization to transport them here.

[Luandense] Will these generators provide electricity for the entire city?

[Sabino] Yes, they will. These generators have four times the capacity of those that the Commissariat installed.

[Luandense] Comrade Manager, what in your opinion is the outlook for your enterprise?

[Sabino] The ENE took over the distribution system for the cities of Sumbe and Porto Amboim in April 1990 and installed a 3,600-kilovolt Philstic group in Porto Amboim to supply the two cities and possibly also Gabela via the high tension network of Sonefe [National Company for Studying and Financing Overseas Projects, Inc.].

At some future time, when Cambambe is operational, this group would serve as an emergency source in the event of a breakdown, and it would also further the development of Porto Amboim, based on the industries already located in that city.

[Luandense] [Aside] And Jose Antonio Sabino continued his account. Let us therefore see what happened:

[Sabino] The line that for security reasons was to have been used to transmit the power had seven of its cables toppled by the enemy, and the operation of this generator group has been prevented to date by this circumstance and also by the fact that the foreign company that installed the Pescuana complex—the aforementioned branch line—failed to establish the connection.

What I have told you are therefore the reasons for the lack of electric power, for otherwise Sumbe would again be the same brightly lit city that we all saw and want to see again. Housewives would then no longer have the problem of preserving fish, meat, tomatoes, and so forth; the other electric household appliances would work; and the local residents would hear music, newscasts, broadcasts of soccer games, and watch television when time permitted.

I believe, however, that a solution will soon be forthcoming, because—as I have said—two 1,800-kilovolt groups have been acquired, and I am expecting the arrival momentarily of one of the motors. I therefore believe that everything will be resolved within the near future.

[Luandense] Comrade Manager, can you tell us if the electricity will go only to the city or will it go also to the suburban areas, as was the case previously?

[Sabino] I have to tell you that everyone will receive the power. The motor—as I have already said—has sufficient capacity for the purpose.

[Luandense] What are your plans, Comrade Manager?

[Sabino] We plan to obtain funds to rebuild the Sumbe electric power distribution system per se, because it has become obsolete, but in order to do so we have to remedy the lack of transportation, the lack of medium- and low-tension cables to repair the damaged stretches of power line, the social situation of the workers, and so forth.

[Luandense] The above was the "friendly chat" that we had with the manager of the ENE. All that the residents of Sumbe can do now is wait for better days and for the city and its homes to be lighted up again as soon as possible.

* Lunda-Norte Trade Network Not Functioning

91AF1133D Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA
in Portuguese 10 May 91 p 2

[Article by Hortencio Sebastiao]

[Text] Dundo (from our correspondent)—Privatization of the retail network, and the creation of a wholesale enterprise for the marketing activities of Endiama [Angolan Diamond Enterprise] exclusively in the mineral areas, are prominent among the measures intended to ameliorate the crisis involving the food supply of the local population.

Everyone agrees that a minimum solution of the current living conditions of the local citizenry depends entirely on increasing the quantity of consumer goods in commercial channels, in view of the fact that more than \$6 million will be made available for the acquisition of food, according to sources linked to the Lunda-Norte Provincial Government.

In this connection, the success of the experiment involving the direct importation of clothing from the republic of Zimbabwe late last year reinforces the prospects for extending this type of imports to include food from neighboring African countries, which now include Namibia.

The trade picture in Lunda-Norte exemplifies the sacrifice made by the local populations in their very real struggle for survival, at a time when aircraft are a difficult means of bringing in small quantities of food.

In the heart of the city of Dundo, however, Endiama operates a sumptuous supermarket filled with merchandise, but its doors are open only to the workers of that enterprise and other government workers who survive on authorizations that are not always obtained on time. Most people must have recourse to the stores of Camatundo, where the kilogram of rice, sugar, and beans they receive on a monthly basis needs to be multiplied in order to alleviate the diet of every family.

In contrast to some provinces, Lunda-Norte suffers from a lack of commercial establishments, especially drugstores

and hardware stores, whose business is to sell to the public essential articles such as screws, nails, rubber hoses, sisal carpets, and so forth.

The most important news concerning the hotel network (which as such is almost nonexistent) is the gradual paralysis of the only hotel—the Chitato—because of construction work, but the hotel had previously been subjected to competitive bidding in an effort to improve the services. In this instance as well, only Endiama possesses some improvised living quarters in fields ready for harvest that are alleviating the poor diet of the guests.

Businessmen and storekeepers—who are frustrated in their activities because of a shortage of the means of transport to bring in products from other regions of the country, or who persist in an individualistic attitude that breeds passivity and is reflected in the lack of personal initiatives in respect to chartering cargo planes, an attitude recently denounced by Provincial Governor Norberto dos Santos—as a general rule are limiting themselves to retailing merchandise supplied by the official commercial entities in the province.

A matter that is no less important and that has persisted for a long time is the existence of a large quantity of money in the form of convertible currencies—obtained honorably in the form of transfers—that is in the hands of workers who have no possibility of leaving Lunda-Norte for the purpose of spending it. As previously reported in this newspaper, last year there was discussion of a proposal to open—within the near future—a commercial establishment with the aim of preventing accumulations of money of this sort.

Madagascar

Opposition Agrees To Suspend Action 26 Jun

EA2606064591 Antananarivo Radio Madagascar
Network in Malagasy 1600 GMT 25 Jun 91

[Text] On the occasion of our celebrations of 26 June [independence day], in order to celebrate it in a peaceful manner, it is now known that a joint meeting was held yesterday in Toamasina Subprefecture headquarters between the region's elected leaders and representatives of the pro-opposition Gallant Forces. The two sides agreed that the 26 June celebrations should not in any way be disturbed; absolutely no political demonstrations should take place. The two sides agreed on this, as our local colleague reports—that is to say, that the two sides agreed to take the appropriate measures to that effect.

Mozambique

Chissano Hosts National Day Reception in Maputo

MB2506202991 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network
in Portuguese 1730 GMT 25 Jun 91

[Text] President of the Republic Joaquim Chissano said in Maputo today that it was with great joy that the Mozambican people were celebrating the 16th anniversary of national independence in an atmosphere of national unity.

Chissano said this at a reception at the Presidential Palace this afternoon on the occasion of another anniversary of national independence.

Speaking off the cuff, the president of the Republic noted that some people had said that we would be dissolved in the first six months of independence. He said, despite all problems facing our country, however, we continue united and our independence is still being consolidated further.

President Joaquim Chissano said there are voices that speak of tribal differences. He said, the Mozambican people, however, view this as an opportunity for greater closeness and common coexistence.

Joaquim Chissano also said our country is still facing serious problems in education, health, but we are determined to resolve them. He called on all Mozambican people to contribute with ideas and practical solutions to resolve existing problems.

At the reception attended by members of the government and diplomatic corps, President Chissano hoped that all Mozambican families will be able to enjoy peace soon. He pointed out that current difficulties facing the country are temporary because during the 16 years of independence, we were able to resist all those who hinder liberty and democracy.

Alleged Coup Leaders at Celebration

*MB2506175191 London BBC World Service in English
1720 GMT 25 Jun 91*

[From the "Focus on Africa" Program]

[Text] Inevitably, the failure of the Mozambique Government to name those allegedly involved in a coup plot which they claim to have uncovered at the weekend has led to endless speculation about their identity. Names have been mentioned of those likely to have been involved. But those suspicions have proved to be ill-founded given those who turned up at President Chissano's side at ceremonies to mark the 16th anniversary of independence. From Maputo, Dan Moiane telexed this report:

One of the names frequently mentioned as a likely coup plot leader was former Armed Forces Chief of Staff Sebastiao Mabote who lost his job several years ago. However, to everyone's surprise, he was seen today in a suit and tie taking part in the main symbolic ceremony at the Maputo Heroes' Square to mark the 16th anniversary of independence. Another Frelimo veteran Commander Domingos Fondo was also present at the heroes' square dressed in his full military gear. Fondo, formerly commander of the armed forces border guards, was earlier rumored to have fled the country last weekend in the wake of the coup plot announcement.

The appearance in public of Mr. Mabote and Mr. Fondo, side by side with the president, has led many people to wonder just who might be linked to the alleged conspiracy. Ordinary Mozambicans and diplomatic circles in Maputo, all feel frustrated about the three-day silence of the government concerning the names of those said to have been detained in connection with the plot.

Even President Chissano's independence day speech to the nation failed to shed light on this matter. Mr. Chissano only denounced the alleged coup plotters as being contrary to the search for peace.

The lack of information has led one of the new opposition political parties, the Patriotic Action Front, to demand that the Frelimo Government should publish the names of the plotters. A statement issued in Maputo by the front declared and I quote: To hide the names will endanger the peace process. The names of the alleged plotters should be published. The government must comply with its constitutional duty to provide citizens with complete and accurate information.

The Patriotic Action Front also condemned the coup plot itself, saying that in no way can coups assist the process of democratization in Mozambique.

Reference to Portuguese Peace Talks Role Denied

*MB2506212191 Maputo Radio Maputo in English
1800 GMT 25 Jun 91*

[Text] The Italian mediator in the Mozambican peace talks in Rome, Mario Raffaelli, has denied that he has spoken of the possibility of the Portuguese Government being represented as an observer in the talks. Mr. Raffaelli said he had not raised the issue during his talks in Lisbon with Portugal's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Durao Barroso.

He told a news conference [word indistinct] Mr. Barroso that anybody who is interested in assisting in the Mozambican peace talks is welcome to do so. For his part, Mr. Barroso said that Portugal's involvement in the peace talks as a mediator has not been considered. While in Portugal, Mr. Raffaelli made a [word indistinct] with the United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr. Herman Cohen.

First Train on Limpopo Railroad Arrives in Maputo

*MB2406214591 Maputo Radio Maputo in English
1800 GMT 24 Jun 91*

[Text] The first goods train from Zimbabwe in seven years arrived yesterday in Maputo port through the Limpopo corridor. The train was carrying cargo from Zimbabwe. The Limpopo railroad has been paralyzed since 1984 due to sabotage by Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] bandits. The line has been undergoing rehabilitation to enable its use mainly by Zimbabwe as an outlet to the sea. Railroad authorities say 454 [word indistinct] has already been rehabilitated. They say work on the line is due to be completed in March next with the rehabilitation of an additional 80 km of the line.

*** Students Expelled From Cuba Get Certificates**

*91AF1139E Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
21 May 91 p 1*

[Text] Mozambican students expelled from the Republic of Cuba following the student riots last December on the Isle of Youth will receive their certificates, according to a NOTICIAS interview with Octavio de Jesus, education ministry scholarships department director.

Octavio de Jesus, who led the Council of Ministers mission named by the Government to investigate the incident, said that 684 certificates are now available to a total of 915 students sent back from that Caribbean country.

According to de Jesus, the students living in the country's capital can obtain their documents from the department handling them, while students in the provinces must await the arrival of the certificates next June.

Explaining the reasons behind this new development for the students expelled from Cuba, since it had already been reported that they would not receive any document proving their attendance at any courses in Cuba, Octavio de Jesus said that it was an attempt to find a way to recognize the efforts made by the students up to a certain level.

"Thus, everything possible is being done to prevent them from being marginalized from society. We are trying to somehow recognize their education," said de Jesus, adding, "rather than alienating them, we want them to take part in the labor or productive process like anyone else."

He then stated that with their certificates, students wishing to continue their studies will thus have a document proving their attendance at Mozambican schools in Cuba up to a certain level of class, whether basic, intermediate or superior.

Octavio de Jesus also informed us that the department for which he is responsible has already received 181 certificates from Cuba for the 1990 graduates. Holders of these documents, primarily Polytechnic Institute students, will receive certificates of the type mentioned above.

Namibia

President Nujoma Opens Conference on Land Reform

MB2506112891 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1028 GMT 25 Jun 91

[Text] Windhoek June 25 SAPA—Namibia's land reform conference will have to discuss whether the country's colonial history can be taken as a starting point to redress past imbalances and injustices, President Sam Nujoma said on Tuesday [25 June]. Opening the national conference in Windhoek, Mr Nujoma said there were people present who had had personal experience of colonial exploitation.

"There are some people that argue that because the unequal distribution of land happened more than 100 years ago, it should be best forgotten and relegated to history books," Mr Nujoma said.

"Others have come to this conference to redress the situation by arguing for the restoration of their ancestral lands. One cannot and should not forget history," Mr Nujoma said.

He described the land question as one of "the most burning issues" facing the newly independent Namibia. "About 90 per cent of the population derives its livelihood from the land, either as peasants, private owners of commercial farm land or workers on such farms," he said.

Colonial Germany in the early 1900s divided the then South West Africa into two areas, one, a "police zone", meant largely for whites and containing the best agricultural land and most of the known economic resources. The other section comprised the north and north-eastern parts where indigenous people were forced to live in remote, arid and underdeveloped areas called "reserves" or "homelands".

Recent studies had shown that out of a total of about 6,292 farms owned in Namibia, 6,123 belonged to individual white farmers which represents 95 per cent of the surface area of commercial farming districts. A total of 382 farms belong to foreign absentee landlords from France, Austria, Italy, Switzerland and South Africa, which owns the bulk of this land. Black farmers owned 181 (2.9 per cent) of the commercial farms with the rest belonging to churches, municipalities and the state.

Mr Nujoma criticised some white farmers for the inhumane way they treated their black workers, saying such behaviour was irreconcilable with the policy of national reconciliation. He also told rich communal farmers to desist from illegally fencing off communal areas, thereby depriving the rest of the community from common grazing and water resources. "This kind of illegal, inhuman and unpatriotic behaviour towards fellow Namibians must come to an end forthwith."

Mr Nujoma said in choosing the path of national consultation and participation in addressing the land question, the Namibian Government hoped to have laid the basis for democratic consultation on other issues as well.

"I do not envy you in your difficult task," Mr Nujoma told delegates, adding that he was confident they would provide the government with suggestions and recommendations to formulate a national policy on land reform.

Over 500 delegates from almost every sector of Namibian society are meeting in Windhoek this week to present their views on land reform in the newly-independent country. According to official figures, 696,000 square kilometres of Namibia's total land area of 824,268 are usable for agriculture.

The conference is purely consultative and no decisions on the allocation and distribution of land would be taken, organisers said. Meanwhile, SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] demonstrators outside the hall greeted Mr Nujoma with posters reminding him of their call for land. "No land—no peace, no land—no freedom, no land—no reconciliation," one poster read, summing up the feelings of the demonstrators.

* Cuban Instructors To Train Development Brigade

91AF1176C Windhoek TIMES OF NAMIBIA
in English 18 Apr 91 p 3

[Text] A large number of Cuban instructors will be coming to Namibia shortly to participate in training projects for the Development Brigades, according to the Cuban Deputy Minister of Construction, Mr Alfonso Llamas. Mr Llamas is currently on a two-week reciprocating visit to Namibia, following the visit of President Sam Nujoma to the island early this year.

NAMPA yesterday reported that Llamas, who is heading a six-man delegation from the Cuban Ministries of Agriculture and Construction, said that his visit to Namibia was a result of the recent visit to Cuba by Nujoma.

The Cuban delegation has been visiting various centers where the Development Brigade members are to be trained and inspected the possibilities of accommodation, the condition of the land, the quality of the soil, water availability and the condition of the existing structure. According to NAMPA, Llamas described the decision of the Namibian government to involve former military personnel as an "intelligent" idea.

However, he reportedly pointed out that the members of the Development Brigade will initially be faced with numerous problems, among them the lack of electricity and water, and the fact that most identified places are almost stripped down.

As pioneers of the Development Brigade, the registered personnel must face that reality and set about working so that they can create a foundation for future progress. "During the war for liberation the two parties at war were living under harsh conditions. I, therefore, hope they will live in the minimum conditions temporarily until they have changed everything for the better", Llamas was quoted by NAMPA as having said.

According to the official news agency, the Minister could not divulge how many Cuban instructors were coming to train members of the Brigade, but confirmed that a large number of highly qualified and experienced instructors would be sent here as soon as pending arrangements are finalized. Nevertheless, the *TIMES OF NAMIBIA* established on confirmation from Ms Ester Amenteros, Councillor in charge of the press and culture at the Cuban embassy, that about 12-14 specialists were expected to come. The experts will act in an advisory capacity and "about a dozen" instructors would suffice, she said.

According to NAMPA, the visiting delegation will present a report for discussion by the delegation and the Government Committee in charge of the project upon completion of the survey tour.

The Government Committee will be headed by the Minister of Information and Broadcasting.

NAMPA further reported that the Government of India has also been approached by the Namibian Government to provide some specialists in agriculture and construction.

*** Commitment to Democracy, Market Economy Noted**

91AF1176A Johannesburg *FINANCIAL MAIL*
in English 3 May 91 pp 24-26

[Text] Much of the fear that hovered over Namibia's independence a year ago has dissipated and, while life goes on as usual in some ways, in others it will never be the same.

The Swapo [South-West African People's Organization] government, which has padded key posts in the public sector with the party faithful, is grappling with the problems and

opportunities uncovered by independence. In the private sector this is reflected in commerce and industry's hope and guarded optimism that government will follow through on its strong commitment to democracy, the country's constitution and a free-market economy.

This commitment has been welcome and concerns that government would adopt a socialist stance have so far proved unfounded.

The optimism stems from the hard pragmatism that most public-sector representatives are demonstrating. Contrary to much of the political posturing before the elections, there seems to be a general recognition that adherence to Western democratic values is the only way the country will be able to realize its full potential and provide social upliftment.

Namibians are full of enthusiasm and praise for the way President Sam Nujoma is guiding the country's destiny. Nonetheless, impractical pre-election promises have created a problem. Out of a population of 1.5m, apart from the country's urban First-World population of 150,000, about 70 percent of the balance lives in rural areas in a subsistence economy while a transitional component of about 15 percent lives in urban areas. The former are almost illiterate and most live according to tribal customs. The latter can be classified as semi-literate.

Especially among transitional urban dwellers, high expectations were built up by pre-election rhetoric. An unwelcome but understandable unrest is patent—and left-wing radicals are taking this opportunity to pressure the centrist-minded in government.

With this in mind, all eyes are now on Finance Minister Otto Herrigel who will soon present the new nation's second budget. It will be a good indicator of whether the private sector's optimism is well founded.

Apart from the normal provisions Herrigel must make, he has to cater for social upliftment—and expectations are high. There are weighty pressures on the economy caused by withdrawal of SA's [Republic of South Africa's] contribution to State coffers (R [rands] 164m in 1989-1990) and the effects of recession in the West.

The mining of diamonds and uranium dominated the mineral sector, which contributed 76 percent of Namibia's R2.7bn export earnings in 1989. Agriculture's contribution was 11 percent, manufactured goods 5 percent, fish products 2.5 percent with other categories making up the balance.

According to the Chamber of commerce & Industries, since the Seventies the price of uranium has fallen to US\$9/lb from \$40/lb. During 1990 production at the Rossing mine, Namibia's only uranium producer, was about 20 percent below capacity and matters have not improved so far this year. The problem remains because of the possibility of excess uranium entering the market from East Bloc countries, and because of an overhang of international sanctions against SA. Moreover, rough diamond production has dropped by 17 percent recently because of production

problems at new mines. As a result, normal capital expenditure deductions will negatively effect Consolidated Diamond Mine's tax contribution this year.

Namibia inherited a weak fiscal and indistinct monetary structure. Besides now having to rectify that, it has to add to its budget certain portfolios such as Foreign Affairs, Land Resettlement & Rehabilitation, and Youth, Sport & Culture—together with all the trappings of a newly independent State.

There is thus a fear that the country may be facing a deficit of between R500,000 and R700,000. As Donald Russell, president of the Chamber of Commerce & Industries, says, such a deficit could be financed by loans, but that would be a bit like someone borrowing from the bank to go on holiday.

Yet the business community and the government are fostering a good relationship. Russell reports that Ministers, committed as they are to the constitution and to the Investment Code, are sound, sensible and accessible. Racial tension is fading rapidly, he asserts.

Foreign finance has not played a significant part in the Namibian economy. Nor is it likely to. Namibia's donors' conference held in New York in June, to which more than 150 UN member nations were invited, raised pledges of R780m to be paid mainly in project aid over three years. The figure for specific budgetary aid this year has now been adjusted downward to R100m and it is difficult to assess how much actual cash will eventually be received. In any case, it should be seen for what it is: a one-off event.

With 1991-1992 total expenditure estimated to be about R3bn, the size of the Namibian budget is about the same as that of Port Elizabeth while its population of roughly 1.5m people, growing at 3 percent per annum, makes it roughly the same size as Soweto.

The country will remain dependent on SA for some time. More than 90 percent of Namibian imports come from SA, so inflation is mainly imported from here. It is subject to SA's monetary policy and will probably continue to be linked on a 1:1 basis even after the Namibian dollar is introduced in 1993.

Customs and Excise Union receipts—a bone of contention with SA because Namibia believes its share should be greater than that of Botswana's—were budgeted at R448m in 1989-1990 whereas Botswana's was about R1bn. Pretoria has been approached to rectify this inequity.

With passport and Customs controls in place, Namibians are more emphatic than ever that Walvis Bay and the disputed islands off the coast should be incorporated into Namibia. Apart from the economic benefits for Namibia to have its own port, the residents of Walvis Bay also want this to happen, because travel and trade between the SA enclave and Namibia are impeded from a Customs, currency and operational aspects.

While negotiations between the SA and Namibian governments are taking place, and while the matter remains dependent on SA's present constitution, just when Namibia

will get control of Walvis Bay remains anybody's guess. But it appears SA will surrender the enclave sooner rather than later. What price will be exacted for the deal remains conjectural but there is little doubt it would redound to SA's international credit if a settlement could be achieved before a new constitution becomes a law in SA.

Unemployment, which is now over 30 percent, is the government's biggest problem. Of the 450,000 economically active people, only 185,000 are employed in the formal sector. The number of individual tax returns is about 80,000.

Mining is by far the largest contributor to GDP [gross domestic product], but only about 10 percent of the workforce is employed by the sector. Agriculture, on the other hand, employs about 70 percent of the work force but contributes just over 11 percent of GDP. For this reason, government wants to develop the agricultural sector to increase employment. This thinking influences two of the most contentious aspects of indicated government policy: land resettlement and a minimum wage.

First, the farming community and the private sector are apprehensive about the possibility of government claiming certain farming land to stimulate employment, despite assurances that "the going market rate" will be paid as compensation.

There is also concern over an increase in the Land Bank lending rate, which rose to 18 percent on April 1, 1990. Previously the rate varied between 12 percent-16 percent, depending on why it was required. Not only has demand for investment funds dropped dramatically (in the year ended March 31, only R4.2m was advanced by the Land Bank whereas the annual value of loans for investment has been about R30m-R40m) but property values have declined. Employment is hardly likely to be stimulated under these circumstances.

Second, the problem with the imposition of a minimum wage is that, in Africa at any rate, it is seldom accompanied by an increase in productivity. If it is not, a deficit soon manifests itself which then has to be financed from another source. Peter has to be robbed to pay Paul.

The ideal would be to educate workers and emphasize and encourage a change in the work ethic, though that has drawbacks because it would produce few visible short-term benefits and is difficult to do. But because of its small population, Namibia has the unique opportunity of creating an enabling environment.

Looking at Benefits

The private-sector investment conference that took place in February under the sponsorship of the Ministry of Trade & Industry was regarded as highly successful. It sought to tell the world Namibia is now sanctions-free and gave foreigners the opportunity to see an infrastructure that works (maintenance is estimated to be in the region of R600m a year) and demonstrated what could be achieved with investment in the mining, agriculture, manufacturing and fishing industries.

Now that Namibia is finally able to impose an internationally recognized 200-mile fishing limit, the fishing industry could become a large, if not the largest, contributor to Namibia's revenue.

The conference also highlighted the need for foreign investment incentive packages, of which there are none at present. It confirmed the authorities' commitment to the Investment Code and their abandonment of any thoughts of nationalization.

So Herrigel's forthcoming budget is bound to be a dramatic balancing act. Concern has been voiced about the rate of growth of government expenditure. In 1980, expenditure was R300m, 21 percent of GDP. At R2.7bn in 1990-1991 it was over 40 percent, which is already uncomfortably high. This year it threatens to be higher still and Herrigel's obvious quandary is how to fund it.

Many of those in the Namibian government witnessed first-hand the collapse of the Zambian economy. Excessive government spending, accompanied by rampant inflation, will be a sure way for Namibia to follow in that country's footsteps. But if the pragmatists are determining policy, at this point there is no reason to believe that Herrigel's budget will turn out to be the beginning of Namibia's downfall.

* Fishing Limits Create Friction With EC

91AF1176B Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English
28 Apr 91 p 25

[Text] Now that Europeans have overfished their oceans they are casting their nets along Namibia's abundant coastline.

But the newly-independent country is not taking this lying down and has imposed stiff fishing limits on member states of the European Community (EC) within the Namibian Exclusive Economic Zone.

Angered by the restrictions, the Commission of the EC unilaterally suspended fishing talks with Namibia on April 11.

The suspension has resulted in a row within the EC between the Spanish EC member responsible for fishing policy, together with some of the Spanish members of the European Parliament (EP), against other EC institutions and member governments.

Adding to the row, a court in Windhoek sentenced five Spanish trawler captains on April 10 to heavy fines and seized their vessels for exceeding their quota of fish within the EEZ [Exclusive Economic Zone].

Six officers of the seized Spanish ships have now been charged with sabotaging the cooling systems and other essential parts of the ships, to spoil the confiscated fish catch.

The six tried to leave Namibia from Windhoek airport last weekend but were stopped, taken back to Luderitz and ordered to fix the cooling machinery. Serious loss of the frozen catch was avoided.

The EC-Namibia fisheries negotiations began at the end of January. Other interested parties, like the Japanese, had immediately after Namibia's independence a year ago concluded agreements to fish legally inside the EEZ.

The EC has seemed unwilling to accept the limits on quotas which the Namibian government considers essential for the fish stock to recover.

It has been largely Spanish fleets that have depleted Namibian fishing grounds in recent years.

Even now, Spanish shipowners say they consider it is "easily possible" to catch 200,000 tons of fish a year. It is thought that Spanish vessels have previously caught twice or three times that volume.

In view of the depletion of stock the Namibians have set the total limit for this year at 60,000 tons, of which they offered the EC 4,500 tons—half the 9,000-ton catch licensed to non-Namibian boats.

This has evidently especially frustrated the Spanish.

The Spanish government distanced itself from the affair, apologizing to the Namibian government for the fishing infringements and promising legal restraints against Spanish boats fishing without licenses.

EC Commissioner for Fisheries Manuel Marin has given two official reasons for the suspension of negotiations to the Namibian delegation in Brussels.

The first was that procedures against Spanish vessels caught fishing illegally inside Namibian waters constituted a "situation of conflict with a member state" of the EC. But this was effectively defused by the Spanish note.

The second reason given was that the quota offered by the Namibians for the EC's fishing fleet was far too small and below the expected share for the EC.

The Commission said it considered either issue on its own to be sufficient reason to break off the negotiations.

The EC and its commission are in a fix themselves, as the same problem of unrestrained overfishing has hit European fishing grounds. In the North Sea, stocks are down to less than 10 percent of levels 10 years ago.

Since separate national fishing regulations became a matter of EC concern in 1980, the Community has introduced ever tougher conservation measures. Coincidentally, an EC ministerial council meeting on April 18 was due to stiffen some of these measures considerably.

European fleets have been driven to fishing grounds further afield and the EC has sought to secure fishery agreements with several African coastal states. Most of these agreements include fishing inspection—both by fishery inspectors and through control over landings in EC fishing ports—to monitor quotas.

But one of the loop-holes is the limited control of boats registered in EC countries. And an ever-larger number of European fishing vessels have been registered in "cheap" ports in third countries, preferably in the Caribbean.

Clearly, the declared interest of the EC to support and comply with the conservation efforts of African coastal states clashes with strong business interests inside the EC.

This process has also been promoted by the EC's "structural policy" which subsidizes replacement of older boats by modern, new ones (with comparable volume of BRTs) even if the old boats, which held the licenses, are not scrapped but sold elsewhere outside the EC.

Together with a number of "grey" licenses obtained from such administrations as the Transkei, a great capacity has been created for uncontrolled, pirate fishery all along the African coast.

A cornerstone of the Namibian approach to fisheries negotiations has been to ensure the inclusion of effective monitoring and control provisions—something the Commission negotiating team refused to discuss.

It therefore appears in Namibian eyes as if the EC is deliberately blocking progress on negotiations in order to ensure continued free access to Namibian waters for Spanish fishermen.

The Commission action following the Namibian high court judgment is leading the Namibian authorities to prepare for sustained political and economic pressure—affecting trade access and development assistance commitments and disbursements—from the EC over the issue.

Whether Namibian fears are well founded is another question.

Namibian fears are hardly being allayed as the Spanish Embassy appears to be causing considerable delays in obtaining visas to Spain, and a Spaniard is due to arrive soon in Windhoek as an EC delegate. However, the Spanish government has recently shown signs of accepting the inevitable restrictions.—Southscan

Zimbabwe

Tekere Discusses 'Split' Within ZUM Party

MB2406180291 London BBC World Service in English
1515 GMT 24 Jun 91

[Telephone interview with Zimbabwe Unity Movement (ZUM) Chairman Edgar Tekere by Rashid Meer in the "Focus on Africa" program—recorded]

[Text] The opposition Zimbabwe Unity Movement, ZUM, is in deep disarray after a crisis at the weekend which left the leadership divided. The founder member and leader of ZUM, Edgar Tekere, fell out with eight committee members last week, and on Saturday [22 June] they announced that he had been relieved of his duties as ZUM chairman. Tekere himself was having none of this, and has since declared publicly that he is still the leader of ZUM, and that the whole affair is due to infiltration by outside forces intent on undermining the opposition party as local elections in Zimbabwe loom.

Rashid Meer spoke to Edgar Tekere on the line to Mutare, and he asked him who he thought he had been infiltrating the party:

[Begin recording] [Tekere] No, I have been declining to mention them. I have some in mind, but as I put it I decline to mention them lest I omit some.

[Meer] But surely it's important that you do give some idea of whom these forces are, if we are to take this seriously.

[Tekere] Yes, but it is suffice for me to say they are external forces; external to the party.

[Meer] Do you mean that these people are working for ZANU-PF [Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front]?

[Tekere] Well, that's one very big probability.

[Meer] Now, what sort of evidence do you have that this is in fact the case?

[Tekere] Well, I have lots of it. In fact the party has lots of it.

[Meer] Can you give me some details of the kind of evidence you do have?

[Tekere] No, I shouldn't like to do that.

[Meer] Why is that?

[Tekere] That measure is still very classified.

[Meer] Now, according to Dr. Magoche, and other members of your party, what they are saying is that all they are doing was that you were not accountable to the party, and they wanted to institute a system where you would be accountable.

[Tekere] Well [laughter], well, they have to have a story to tell. I am certainly not going to be accountable to Magoche and Gomo because they are no longer members of the party anyhow. In response to their behavior, the National Steering Committee decided to suspend them, and most likely the next meeting of the National Steering Committee is going to sack them outright from the party.

[Meer] Now, Mr. Tekere at the end of the day aren't we seeing the breaking up of the Zimbabwe Unity Movement; aren't we seeing the party being split?

[Tekere] No. That question has been asked, and even among our people here there is that real fear. But it isn't so. How many days have we run now? You know our people here, particularly our party members, are beginning to feel more comfortable now that in fact it's not coming to that at all. And I refuse to accept the term, split. I simply call it, well, some dried up leaves falling off. That doesn't cause the tree to dry up at all. I am very confident that ZUM is going on. In fact, now that it has surfaced I think it has surfaced at a good time and in a manner that's comfortable for us.

[Meer] Now, you might describe this as dried leaves falling off, but you can't deny the seriousness of this. What is the next step that ZUM is going to take?

[Tekere] No, I don't think we have any special step that we are going to take. Just now we are preoccupied in organizing for the local elections all our grass roots, our provincial structures, and district structures. Gomo and Magoche don't have to worry about...

[Meer, interrupting] But surely this row, internal in ZUM, with two groups of people going around calling themselves the Zimbabwe Unity Movement, who in fact are in direct conflict with each other, does not do you any good in terms of your election plans.

[Tekere] Absolutely. I think you are quite right there. I cannot deny that, but we are getting things right. I am comfortable that it will not do lots of harm, but if not carefully handled we could go on and on, and on, you know, talking in the press like we are talking now, and calling one another names and so forth, and time passes. At the end of it ZANU-PF will have got away with it by default, and this is exactly what Magoche and Gomo, and the rest of them are working for. [end recording]

* Paper Comments on Future of Socialism

91AF1163E Harare THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE
in English 28 Mar 91 p 4

[Text] The United ZANU (PF) [Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front] and the government have at crucial times displayed a degree of pragmatism that has been a source of comfort and inspiration of many.

By way of example, the controversial debate on the one-party state, during which it became exceedingly obvious that a substantial and influential section of the party hierarchy favoured the introduction of the one-party state system of government, was finally settled in accordance with what the majority of the people wanted. The multi-party status quo thus continues.

After years of being persuaded to scrap the State of Emergency, the government finally gave in last year thereby returning the country to the normal rule of law which its citizens now enjoy. This was yet another important example of how government could be persuaded to legislate, by taking into consideration what the majority of the people preferred, even though this did not tally with its own position and assessment.

Last week, during the central committee meeting the President became the first to contribute to what he termed another controversial debate, this time on the future of socialism in Zimbabwe. While expressing his own preference for a socialist ideology he, nonetheless, left the door open for other views, so it seems. This is what democracy is all about.

Zimbabwe's Marxist-Leninist posturing and rhetoric has lost us a lot of important friends in the international community in the past. It was thus most unfortunate that this debate took place just a few days before the crucial Paris conference. While the general public, and commerce and industry in Zimbabwe are used to this socialist rhetoric, the international community is not.

With the introduction of trade liberalisation and the Structural Adjustment Programme, many were justified in thinking that any tinkering with the strict introduction of a command economy had been laid to rest, but apparently such assessments were somewhat erroneous.

It is important to realise that while the socialist rhetoric has been excessive, there has never been any clear definition of the way that the government thought its socialist goals would be achieved.

In any event, we are hard pressed to find any national achievements which could be attributed to the socialist ideology. The commendable strides in the health and education sectors have purely been achieved through nationalistic demands which have absolutely nothing to do with socialism.

Even then, these nationalistic policies were consumptive rather than productive—channelling valuable scarce national resources to non-productive sectors. This was done purely for political expediency.

The results of this have now come home to roost, hence the need for a painful Structural Adjustment Programme.

In any case, for the socialist ideology to be a success the necessary prerequisite would be the presence of committed socialists within the political parties. Needless to say, while preaching socialism, it has been very difficult to find many dedicated or bona fide socialists in the ruling party.

The talk about the leadership code is a realisation by ZANU (PF) itself that there are more capitalists than there are socialists, committed or otherwise, within the ranks of ordinary Zimbabwean citizens, due, largely, to the fact that very few of them understand the ideology, in the first place.

It is stretching the issues rather too far to argue that the war was waged on the conviction that socialism was a better ideology than capitalism. There was never such a conception; if it did emerge it was long after the start of the war.

People went to war over immediate bread and butter issues such as racial discrimination which had a huge bearing on employment and income patterns, the land issue and enfranchisement.

Socialism as an ideology has been discredited all over the world. The fall of the people's democracies in East Europe and the advent of *perestroika* and *glasnost* in the Soviet Union have demystified socialism and exploded the myth about its effectiveness as an alternative to capitalism.

Some would argue that the problem has been wrong implementation and practice of the ideology—but if the whole world has failed to implement the ideology, as has happened, perhaps it is simply unworkable.

At home and abroad, socialism, in terms of its material development, has failed to translate itself into quantitative and qualitative benefits easily appreciated by its supposed beneficiaries. Instead it has brought more hardships and misery than positive benefits.

While the constitutions of both the parties that constitute ZANU (PF) do hint on, or explicitly espouse socialism as a

post-liberation ideology, it is absolutely essential for the former nationalist liberation movements to take cognisance of the fact that there is a huge difference between a liberation movement and a government. A liberation movement can afford the luxury of theorising but a government faced with practical day to day situations simply must be realistic and pragmatic.

Thus, ZANU (PF) must, of necessity, transform itself into a party in government that is capable of changing as directed by practical situations for the benefit of all Zimbabweans. Failure to do so would be tantamount to failure in good governance.

By way of digressing, as we write, the African National Congress of South Africa which has long cherished the idea of nationalisation of land, mines and all property is currently re-considering this policy.

This is because of a timely realisation of the immense problems associated with the implementation of this policy, such is pragmatism.

ZANU (PF) must decide, as the whole world has done already, that socialism belongs to the past, particularly given Zimbabwe's current and bold economic reform programme.

* ZANU Report Urges 'Democratic Socialism'

91AF1163D Harare THE WEEKEND GAZETTE
in English 19 Apr 91 p 1

[Text] As Zimbabweans celebrated the 11th year of Independence yesterday, it appears that ZANU (PF) [Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front], which has held the reigns of power ever since, has found a graceful exit from its hitherto declared intention to introduce Marxist-Leninist socialism, it has been learnt.

THE WEEKEND GAZETTE sources revealed this week that widespread opposition to socialism based on Marxist/Leninist principles appears to have forced the party to review its stand on the ideology.

"There now appears to be a general consensus among the rank and file of the ZANU (PF) leadership for a more pragmatic approach to the question of ideology in the party," the sources said.

A political and standing committee of the ZANU (PF) central committee was tasked to re-define the party's ideological thrust, ten years after Independence, taking into full account Zimbabwe's social, cultural, political and economic history and present circumstances.

In a report it presented to a full central committee meeting, the committee recommended what it termed "democratic socialism" as the most practical ideology best suited for Zimbabwe and ZANU (PF)'s present circumstances, national capacity and the objectives of government at this particular period in history.

"It starts from, and emphasizes where Zimbabwe is as a nation. It is pragmatic, practical and dialectic without losing

the final objective," the political and standing committee report says in describing the new ideology.

"It is the ideology nearest to what the government actually is," it says. "It is no use pretending to be what one is not."

Democratic socialism, it is argued, is meant to be the ideology that emphasizes the democratic principles, methods and procedures in order to promote mass participation. "This is what makes it different from other varieties or types of socialisms.

Democracy both in politics and economics is dear to the people, the report observes noting that this was a major objective in the struggle for liberation.

"Democratic socialism is an ideology based on political pluralism, competition and individual initiative, human rights, mixed economy, promotion and protection of the poor, the minorities, the disabled and all the disadvantaged sections of society.

"The long term objective is the elimination of the exploitation of one person by another," the report says.

The welfare state, according to the document, is important: "because it aims at satisfying the basic needs of citizens at subsidised rates or at no direct cost to the people. These amenities include education, health, nursery and pre-school education, public transport, care for the aged, disabled, destitute and the unemployed.

Financing of these services would be met from taxation.

"Democratic socialism is a socialist thought and political system which attempts to combine socialist thinking and political pluralism. Democratic socialism guarantees freedom of the Press, expression, association; the independence of the judiciary and the rule of law," says the committee in its report.

Under the new ideology, "everything is centred on the protection, security, promotion, development, welfare, happiness and the satisfaction of the basic needs of the individual.

Democratic socialists were totally opposed to "parochial nationalism, regionalism and ethnic chauvinism and corruption. It stands for exemplary behaviour and strict discipline among state leaders and officials, said the report.

"Corruption and abuse of power by democratic socialists is immediately punishable and not tolerated," the report warns.

Appointment to management and decision-making positions in state institutions would be made on the basis of relevant experience and competence. "A democratic socialist is for total efficiency and fair play."

According to the report, an important and fundamental definition of democratic socialism was that the dominant proportion of the economy must be locally owned. "Democratic socialism, both in practice and theory, is against foreign domination and is anti-imperialist," it said.

The Gambia

Finance Minister Presents 1991-92 Budget

AB2606084091 Paris AFP in French 2341 GMT 21 Jun 91

[Text] Banjul, 22 Jun (AFP)— This evening Mr. Saikou Sabally, Gambian minister for finance and economic affairs, presented the 1991-92 budget to the parliamentarians. The budget provides for a 6 percent salary increase for civil servants. It also returns the provision for advances on salaries, loans, and promotions for the Armed Forces, the Gendarmerie, and civil servants. All these benefits were suppressed during the implementation of the structural adjustment program regulations.

As for the global expenditures for "development" (226 million dalasis), financing through external loans amounts to 141 million dalasis, and financing through "external donations" amounts to 58 million dalasis (150 dalasis: 5,000 CFA francs). The budget also provides for reducing customs taxes for essential commodities like concentrated tomato paste, plastic sandals, tires, sardines, and vegetable oil.

Ghana

Security Committee Imposes Dusk to Dawn Curfew

AB2506200891 Accra Ghana Broadcasting Corporation Radio Network in English 1800 GMT 25 Jun 91

[Text] The Northern Regional Security Committee has imposed a dusk to dawn curfew in Kpandae and all villages within 38.6 km radius. Any person or group of persons found moving about between 6 PM and 6 AM in these areas will be arrested and dealt with.

These measures, which were contained in a statement signed by the northern regional secretary, Mr. John Bawah, included a reminder that the ban on the possession of arms is still in force and all persons with weapons should surrender them to the police.

The measures and other peace efforts are meant to curb renewed fighting between Gonjas and Nawuris since Tuesday, June 18, in which eight people have lost their lives. This brings to 22 the death toll in the fighting since the first clash in April this year over the ownership of Kpandae lands.

A detachment of 60 policemen from Wa, Bolgatanga, Yendi, and Tamale, and 30 soldiers from the Tamale garrison have been deployed to the town to help maintain security.

Ivory Coast

President Receives Zairian Premier, Message

AB2606125891 Abidjan Radiodiffusion Ivoirienne Radio in French 0700 GMT 23 Jun 91

[Text] President Felix Houphouet-Boigny has received President Mobutu's emissary. He is the Zairian prime minister who held talks with the Ivorian head of state yesterday.

After the meeting, Mr. Mulumba Lukoji answered questions from reporters who asked him why he was visiting.

[Begin Lukoji recording] President Mobutu asked me to deliver a message to his senior brother, the president of Ivory Coast. You know that Zaire and Ivory Coast have longstanding relations of friendship and fraternity. In this regard, this type of communication and exchange of visits is quite normal. I came to see the president to give him a message from our president which I believe is on strengthening of bilateral relations. After the Abuja summit, we intend to promote and strengthen these ties further through major exchanges. The Ivorian prime minister is a personal friend, and President Mobutu is the Ivorian president's personal friend. I believe that this is the ideal occasion for both countries to further develop the relations the presidents have built over the years and to try to extend them to government level. [end recording]

Minister Reports on Requisition Order Compliance

AB2506213291 Abidjan Radiodiffusion Ivoirienne Radio in French 1930 GMT 25 Jun 91

[Text] On the first day of the requisition order, classes have not fully resumed in secondary schools and at the university. According to National Education Minister Bamba Vamoussa, who reviewed the situation when he met the national and international press this evening, 34 percent, or 270 university teachers, showed up for work. In some departments, notably at the School of Medicine, classes actually took place. Mr. Bamba Vamoussa said.

At the secondary schools, 75 to 85 percent of teachers signed the attendance registers. The situation in most schools was calm, except for the Abidjan High School and junior and senior high schools in Bondoukou and Bouafle, where disturbances were reported. Minister Bamba Vamoussa said the situation is improving and that people must wait for the end of the week to know the final figures and have a real picture of the situation.

Liberia

Taylor Agrees To Recognize Interim Government

AB2606110091 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English 0900 GMT 25 Jun 91

[From the news summary]

[Text] The leader of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia [NPFL], Mr. Charles Taylor, has requested that the interim government extend its tenure to provide adequate time for the preparation of general elections in Liberia. According to THE GUARDIAN newspaper in Nigeria, Mr. Taylor also wanted NPFL to be incorporated into the Armed Forces of Liberia and put under his control as defense minister. The paper further reported that the NPFL leader has now agreed to recognize the Interim Government of National Unity and [words indistinct] defense minister and be allowed to supervise the overhauling of the Liberian Armed Forces.

Mali

Former Traore 'Close Aides' Arrested 25 June

AB2506151991 Dakar PANA in English 1453 GMT
25 Jun 91

[Text] Bamako, 25 June (AMAP/PANA)—Several Malian Army officers who were close aides of the deposed Malian President Moussa Traore have been arrested, an independent Bamako daily newspaper LES ECHOS reported Tuesday.

The daily identified the arrested officers as Capt. Boubacar Keita, the former deputy director of security and a one-time deputy aide de camp [ADC] to Traore. Others are Capt. Oumar Cheikna Traore, also a former ADC to the president, and the former minister of justice, Lt. Col. Sambou Soumare.

The daily named others under arrest as Capt. Sidy Mohamed Toure, alias Mame who was the ADC of Moussa Traore's wife, Namakoro Diarra. He was, until his arrest, the deputy director of national security.

The new arrests came a day after those of two influential members of the ruling Malian Transition People's Salvation Committee, Lt. Col. Oumar Diallo and Maj. Anatole Sangare. They were arrested on the orders of the committee's president, Lt. Col. Amadou Toure.

Prime Minister Sako Departs for Belgium

AB2606070591 Dakar PANA in English 1820 GMT
25 Jun 91

[Text] Dakar, 25 June (POOL-NA/PANA)—The Malian prime minister, Soumana Sako, left Bamako Monday night for a working visit to Belgium, Radio Bamako monitored in Dakar reported Tuesday. While in Brussels, Sako will hold a working session with his Belgian counterpart and meet several Belgian ministers to discuss ways of enhancing bilateral relations. Apart from chairing a forum organised for businessmen wishing to invest in Mali, Sako is also expected to meet European Economic Community officials to seek the grouping's assistance to the Malian economy.

Nigeria

Ministry 'To Ensure' Obasanjo Election to UN

AB2606071591 Dakar PANA in English 1249 GMT
25 Jun 91

[Text] Lagos (Nigeria), 25 June (NAN/PANA)—Nigeria has put in place a mechanism to ensure the election of its former head of state, Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo, as the next UN secretary-general, official sources at the Ministry of External Affairs in Lagos have said. The sources said Monday that a campaign team chaired by the foreign minister, retired Maj.-Gen. Ike Nwachukwu, has been set up to ensure a successful campaign. The ministry has spared no effort to ensure that victory is achieved when the elections are finally held in New York during the 46th session of the UN General Assembly to be held from September to December, the sources said.

They said the campaign had taken Maj.-Gen. Nwachukwu and Nigeria's permanent representative at the UN, Prof. Ibrahim Gambari, to various world capitals. Maj.-Gen. Nwachukwu told journalists at the weekend that Nigeria was intensifying its campaign efforts for the top UN job, to be vacated by Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar of Peru.

The OAU summit in Abuja early in June took a decision to allow individual African countries interested in the job to present their candidates, rather than choose a single candidate for the continent. Zimbabwe, Ghana and Sierra Leone are the other African countries which have shown interest in the job.

Group Says Students Tortured, Threatens Strike

AB2506213091 Paris AFP in English 1908 GMT
25 Jun 91

[Text] Lagos, June 25 (AFP)—The Committee for the Defence of Human Rights (CDHR), a Lagos-based human rights organisation, has urged President Ibrahim Babangida to free all political prisoners in Nigeria.

In a statement signed by its president, Beko Ransome Kuti, the CDHR alleged that some students were being tortured by security services and police. The committee said Mahmud Abdul Aminu, the president of outlawed National Association of Nigerian Students (NANS), was being detained at the Kirikiri maximum security prison on the outskirts of Lagos.

The student leader called a nationwide strike after an expiry of his organisation's ultimatum to the government to meet student demands. The whereabouts of five of his colleagues were unknown after they were moved out of the SSS detention centre last June 17, the CDHR said. The committee's president, Dr. Ransome-Kuti, is the younger brother of Fela, an internationally known musician, and Health Minister Olikoye Ransome-Kuti.

The NANS last April 27 gave the government a one-month ultimatum in which to declare a state of emergency in the nation's educational sector. It also called for the scrapping of a transition programme to civilian rule and the five-year-old World Bank-inspired structural adjustment programme. Other demands were the nationalisation of multinational corporations, lifting of restrictions on the activities of campus secret cults and the introduction of American-style social security.

A few universities and higher institutions were shut temporarily following the student demonstrations in which at least three students were killed and 200 arrested.

Contingent in Sierra Leone Not Part of ECOMOG

AB2506181591 Paris AFP in French 1051 GMT
22 Jun 91

[Text] Lagos, 22 Jun (AFP)—According to Nigerian General Rufus Kupolati, field commander of the Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group [ECOMOG], who was quoted today by the Nigerian press, the West African buffer force in Liberia—the Nigerian troops in Sierra Leone—are not part of ECOMOG.

They have been sent there under a bilateral agreement and will act as a "deterrent" force, he added.

The Nigerian contingent is equivalent to a battalion of 800 men, and currently it is not involved in any land operation, Gen. Kupolati stated further to the press here yesterday before leaving for Monrovia, Liberia. He also explained that he was the commander of that contingent in his capacity as the most senior Nigerian officer, and not as an ECOMOG commander. Referring to Liberia and ECOMOG, he said he was satisfied that the cease-fire agreement signed on 28 November in Bamako, Mali by the parties in the conflict had been respected. "It is the first cease-fire in the world to have lasted such a long time," he stated.

Union of Journalists Launces New Magazine

*AB2606093091 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English
1500 GMT 24 Jun 91*

[Text] The NIGERIA JOURNALISM QUARTERLY, a magazine of the Nigerian Union of Journalists, is to be launched tomorrow at the National Assembly Complex, Tafawa Balewa Square. The vice president, Admiral Augustus Aikhomu, is expected to be the chairman of the occasion, while the director general of the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria, Mr. Bankole Balogun, will be one of the chief launchers. The magazine focuses on the practical issues related to journalism.

Togo

Nigerian Foreign Minister Meets Eyadema, Comments

*AB2406194091 Lome Voix de la Nouvelle Marche Network
in French 1230 GMT 21 Jun 91*

[Text] This morning President General Gnassingbe Eyadema met Nigerian Foreign Minister Ike Nwachukwu at his private residence in Lome II. The head of Nigerian diplomacy arrived at President Eyadema's private residence at 0830.

After the two hour meeting, the Nigerian foreign minister told our reporter in Lome II that he delivered a message to President Eyadema from Nigerian head of state Ibrahim Gbadamasi Babangida. He then told the press that it was a message of support and solidarity to encourage President Eyadema in his struggle for peace and security in Togo and in the West African subregion. The talks between President Eyadema and the Nigerian foreign affairs minister focused on peace, development, and democracy. Let us now listen to the head of Nigerian diplomacy:

[Begin Nwachukwu recording, in English with simultaneous French translation] I brought from my president, the commander in chief of our Armed Forces, President Ibrahim Gbadamasi Babangida, a special message for President Eyadema. It is a message of support and solidarity, of concern and encouragement for ensuring peace, security, stability, and development in Togo and our subregion.

We condemn everything that brings trouble. We condemn using arms to wrest authority from those who have been

duly picked to give us leadership, and we believe in democracy. There is a need for our people to have a say in whatever government is doing, but to [word indistinct] a crisis, conceding or granting to someone the privilege to speak through using arms and turmoil is not the best thing for us.

Africa has always used its own democratic ways. We had our own democratic system before we were colonized by the Europeans; that was during the precolonization period. When you look at traditional African life, you will see that at the village, clan, and ethnic level, affairs were conducted on a clearly defined democratic basis inherent to our own culture and in everyone's interests. For example, the head of the village does not make any decision alone. Decisions are made by the whole village. He has to ask the advice of the council of elders, family heads, and so on. This is also done at the clan level and even nationwide. Therefore, in Africa the will to act democratically has always existed.

Then we were colonized. The colonizers came with their own ways of looking at things and making decisions. During the colonial period, we were not really involved in the decisionmaking process. We fought to achieve independence. To really do away with what we inherited from independence, we need time. Since we have always wanted to act according to our own African democratic ways, I think that we are learning again how to return to our system, which means acting according to African traditions. It involves taking into account the opinions of the various sectors of our societies, and it is in this regard that we think that democracy is not that new to Africa. It is not a new concept for Africans. I can say that we encourage democracy, but if violence, arms, and turmoil have to be used to achieve it, I do not think that is the best way toward democracy because by acting that way we would be breaking the very rules of democracy for which we are calling. It is normal that the people have a say in the decisionmaking process. That is why we say that we believe in democracy, but we must restore it the African way. [end recording]

Commission Communique on Conference Participants

*AB2406185091 Lome Voix de la Nouvelle Marche Network
in French 0615 GMT 21 Jun 91*

[Communique issued by the national conference preparatory joint commission in Lome on 20 June]

[Text] The national conference preparatory commission continued its deliberations on 20 June from 0830 to 1830 GMT. At this plenary session, the commission, after examining the conclusions of the subcommissions from their 14 June meeting, adopted a draft decree on convening the national conference, on the procedures of the national conference, and on the conference's participants. It examined the issues relating to security, immunity, and media coverage as well as the budget for the conference.

Furthermore, for reasons relating to the material organization of the conference and to enable delegates from outside

to participate in the deliberations, the preparatory commission decided that the registration of delegates should begin on 24 June and that the conference should solemnly be opened on 26 June.

In conclusion, the following was determined regarding conference participants: socioprofessional groups, religious organizations [word indistinct] 10 delegates; Catholics, two; Protestants, two; Muslims, two; other religions, four; retirees, six; civilians, two from the private sector and two from the public sector; the military, two; Armed Forces and Security, 16; Army, four; Air Force, two; Navy, two; Gendarmerie, two; Police, two; Prefecture Guards, two; Fire Brigade, two; former dignitaries, (?20); Olympio regime, four; Grunitzky regime, four; Eyadema, (?12).

Signed for the government, Barry Moussa Barque; for the Democratic Opposition Front, Gnininvi Mensah

Police Service Transferred to Interior Ministry

AB2506171091 Lome Voix de la Nouvelle Marche Network in French 0615 GMT 22 Jun 91

[Excerpts] During its plenary session at the National Unity building yesterday, the National Assembly examined and adopted a draft bill on the special status of the National Police Service of Togo. [passage omitted]

Under the law, the police service will no longer be part of the Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of Civil Service. It will now come under the Ministry of Interior. [passage omitted]

Police, Fire Fighters Continue To Strike

AB2606071291 Dakar PANA in English 1700 GMT 25 Jun 91

[By Randy Zormelo]

[Text] Lome, 25 June (PANA)—Members of Togo's police force and fire service have been on strike since Monday in protest against salary deductions and poor conditions of service. The policemen are demanding the reimbursement of deductions made from their salaries since 1977. Although a special statute was adopted last week by Parliament on

their conditions of work and service, the police are insisting on the refund of these deductions barely 24 hours before the convening of the national conference to decide the political future of the country.

The strike action has not disrupted the normal performance of police duty, despite their current *laissez faire* attitude to work. The policemen have, however, given no ultimatum to the government.

For their part, the fire fighters are demanding a revision of their status, payment of arrears, as well as housing and transportation allowances. They are also claiming family allowance and the issuing of certificates at the end of training, as well as the reinstatement of 18 of their dismissed colleagues.

Nothing has yet come out of the negotiations currently underway to meet the grievances of the policemen and the fire fighters. Tuesday morning, both the permanent and temporary junior staff of the country's Ministry of Works and Public Service went on strike. The temporary staff are demanding that they be made permanent staff in the ministry, thereby ensuring their job security. Permanent junior staff are claiming long service and housing allowances.

Observers in the Togolese capital see the timing of the strike as aimed at pressuring the government to accept the strikers' demands before the national conference opens Wednesday. Thus, government may be obliged to reach an agreement with the strikers whose action could spread to other government services.

Meanwhile, the registration of associations, organisations, trade unions, and individuals expected to participate in the conference continues. Some 700 delegates are expected to attend the conference whose preparation is entrusted to a special committee of government officials and representatives of the 11-party coalition, FOD [Democratic Opposition Front]. It was through the coalition's untiring efforts that government finally agreed to convene the conference. The committee is currently examining questions related to security, immunity of participants, media coverage and the conference budget.

END OF

FICHE

DATE FILMED

27 June 1991

